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New Republic

LAST CHANCE

FOR DEMOCRATS

CONVENTION PREVIEW see page 11

TITO'S REVOLT

see page 5

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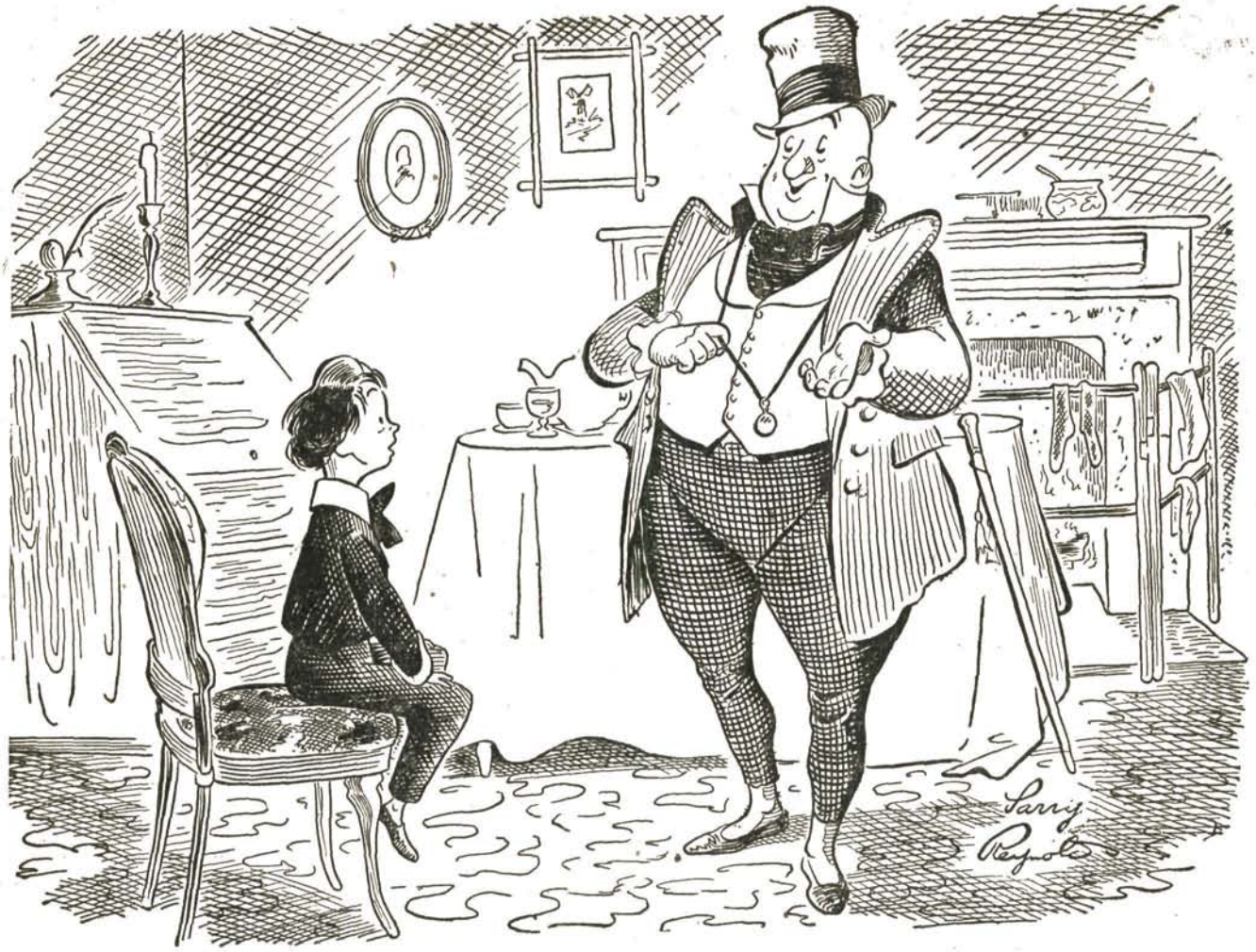

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

THE Securities and Exchange Commission publishes this week a little item that won't get much attention in the hullabaloo of politics. It seems that individuals "reduced their liquid assets $400 million in the first quarter of 1948." This means that for the first time since 1942, when the SEC began recording such statistics, the public spent more cash than it was able to save during a three-month period.

The cost of living is at a peak level and still rising. Moreover, the Federal Reserve Board has just published its own annual consumers' survey which shows that about a quarter of all families are now spending more than they are saving. A lot of the money is going into homes. This wouldn't be a bad idea if it were not for the fact that realty prices are terribly inflated. A lot of money is going into less justifiable instalment-plan purchases.

Debt is rising. Yet consumers are optimistic, the FRB report says. It is true that 39 percent of the consumers thought they were worse off than a year ago, even with pay increases and all. On the other hand, jobs are easy to get. There is always another pay rise just ahead. The FRB report called this "the first sign of weakening" in the consumers' position. The inflation balloon is still swelling. We wonder if Tom Dewey has a good vulcanizing kit?

The issue of Truman-Eisenhower-Douglas is close to a showdown. And the point isn't only the apparent unwillingness of some of General Ike's most ardent backers to take his new "No" as final. Truman was cool, confident and poised at last week's press conference. He kicked Congress where it hurt—on its housing-water-power record and other sensitive spots. So far as we could judge, he was genuinely enjoying himself, despite the distressed Democrats who want to ditch him.

This column likes General Ike. We knew and cheered him in wartime London. Yet we think a few facts are pertinent to the diehard boom for him. He is a general. Nobody knows precisely where he stands on major issues. Senator Byrd wants him. And he has said again that he won't run. On the other hand, we know where Mr. Justice Douglas stands: he is a New Dealer. We regard this as important. But there is another unfortunate fact. Ike could probably beat Dewey; Douglas couldn't. Under Ike, you would be apt to have just another fine, victorious, political coalition. (Puzzled Britons used to ask Ike's soldiers in London what the difference was between Republicans and Democrats; the innocent Yanks always thought they could explain and then bogged down.)

The Democratic bosses want victory, of course, and Ike looks good to them. The more obscure his views the better. Anti-Truman liberals face a choice between prospective victory with a candidate who may disagree with them, and defeat with a candidate who sees eye to eye with them. Now we come to a final disagreeable fact: we doubt if the Byrds would let Douglas get nominated anyway. So the circle is complete.

The Clayton Anti-Trust Act passed under Woodrow Wilson gave the Federal Trade Commission power to prohibit the merger of two competing companies by the "purchase of stock" when such a merger would substantially reduce competition. The law neglected, however, to forbid the merger of two competitors by one's purchase of the physical assets of the other. This is a loophole as big as a barn door.

Senator O'Mahoney tried to close it by legislation. Congress wouldn't listen. Last week, for example, the Burlington Mills, which already operates eleven big

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Don't miss a single fact in these special articles; they will have an important bearing on future American policy in Europe.

AMERICAN POLICY TOWARD JAPAN

MARK GAYN, well-known Far Eastern expert and correspondent, tells how we have reversed nearly all our important policies toward Japan. Are we likely to recommend for that country MORE steel production than she had at the height of her war effort? Will we lend Japan money to put her industry back on its feet? How much? What countries oppose this policy? Read this interesting article—coming soon in *New Republic.*

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Southern Hosiery plants, bought the assets of the $12 million May McEwan Kaiser Hosiery Company. In the same week, Lever Brothers, whose British parent dominates the world margarine market, bought the $10 million John F. Jelke Company, sixth-largest US margarine maker.

Another point needs stressing. You can have a major revolution in Washington without changing a single law. All you need to do is to replace members of a few great federal commissions. These commissions are little "supreme courts." For example, the 80th Congress voted money for anti-trust-law enforcement and also passed the Reed-Bulwinkle bill exempting railroads from the anti-trust law, subject to approval by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Well, who will guard the watchdog? The Republicans know perfectly well how these things work. There are already direct attacks on half a dozen commissions. But a subtler way is just to fill them up with the right kind of conservative people.

A good example is in radio. The original law which Congress passed is quite radical: it says that the air waves belong to the public. But without changing that law, the Federal Communications Commission has altered its apparent meaning until radio channels are huckstered about like soap or lard. Put a good reactionary Republican administration in control here for a few years and you will find the whole atmosphere of government in America changed, whether the laws are changed or not.

Notes. Marriner Eccles has decided to stay on the Federal Reserve Board for a while despite his demotion as chairman and failure of his supposed appointment as vice-chairman to come through. . . . Norman Thomas' acid comments on the GOP convention were carried by newspapers with a circulation of about three million. . . . The Democratic National Committee charges *Time, Life* and *Fortune* with "bitterly biased" comments on Truman and the party.

Washington T. R. B.

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VOLUME 119, NUMBER 2, ISSUE 1754, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 12, 1948 **New Republic**

THE WEEK

THE SOVIET SPHERE QUAKES

THE CLASH between Moscow and Belgrade is more than a conflict of personalities or even of differing views of a common ideology. It is a head-on collision between two sets of historic forces—those that made Stalin and put him where he is, against those that made Tito and put him where he is.

This conflict is neither accidental nor voluntary. It is the inevitable result of the effect on Stalin and Tito of a third set of historic forces—American capitalist democracy. Stalin needs to recast the world role of the Soviets in the light of increasingly effective resistance by the West to Soviet expansion. And Tito must respond to the influence of the cold war on his position in the Balkans.

Many aspects of the clash between the number-one man of the Soviet Union itself and the number-one man of the Soviet satellite sphere remain unclear. Many questions cannot yet be answered, especially the final one: which will prove to be greater—the irresistibility of the Soviet force or the immovability of the Balkan wall? But recent developments, particularly since the Marshall Plan began to make itself felt, suggest that the explosion in the Cominform is the effect, direct or indirect, of the success of US foreign policy.

These developments show that Stalin has been forced to make preparations for a new course of action. This course may be war with the West. Or it may be the consolidation of Stalin's personal position and the role of the Soviet Union in the Russian sphere in order to accept indefinitely a division of the whole world into two parts—a Soviet-dominated half and a US-dominated half. It is quite possible that the two courses may come to the same thing—that a ruthless consolidation of Stalin's power in the Soviet area may be considered necessary as a preparation for war.

In order to go to a position of greater power, perhaps even to stay where he is, Stalin has been forced in recent months to put pressure on one after another of the Communist regimes in the satellite countries behind the Iron Curtain to bring them into line with his newly emerging policy. And he had to apply even greater pressure on the Yugoslavs than on the Rumanians, the Poles, the Hungarians, the Czechoslovaks and the east Germans.

On the other hand, in order for Tito to increase his power, perhaps even to survive, he has had to face Soviet pressure with greater resistance. There was as little choice for him as for Stalin, because the forces which produced him made inescapable demands under the pressure of the West's successes.

As part of his preparations, Stalin has:

1. Forced a purge of all Communist Parties in order to make sure of absolute loyalty and discipline;

2. Intensified demands for the ruthless sovietization of Eastern and Central Europe, shifting the economic emphasis from the peasantry to the proletariat and from the "popular front" type of control to CP control;

3. Sought to liquidate all the economic and social bases of real or potential opposition to him in Eastern and Central Europe;

4. Insisted on the total eradication of "bourgeois," feudal or capitalist methods in order to remove the danger of any kind of capitalist restoration in satellite areas.

All this was relatively easy until Stalin tackled Tito. In the Baltic states, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and eastern Germany, the Communist Parties accepted the change in "line" from a wartime opportunism to a new version of ruthless orthodoxy.

But Tito's situation was different because the Yugoslav situation was different. Here are some of the reasons:

1. The Yugoslav Communist Party had won control for itself without any direct help from the Soviet Union, and was much more nationalistic in its orientations than other CP organizations;

2. The nature and temperament of the peasants on whom Tito relied for support—hard, stubborn, land-hungry, property-minded—made it impossible to proceed quickly (if at all) with such steps as collectivization;

3. The political and historical background of the country, with its heritage

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of bitter blood feuds and struggle against Turkish and Balkan masters, both whipped up nationalism and made subservience to a new foreign master unwelcome;

4. The economic heritage left Yugoslavia geared toward increased trade with the West as much if not more than with the East;

5. Enormously popular personally, with the temperament of a Balkan warrior leader, Tito gained even greater strength by his open struggle with Moscow in favor of Yugoslavia's leadership of a bloc of Balkan states.

6. To satisfy the demands of his own following, Tito wanted to furnish greater help to the Greek guerrilla leader, Markos Vafiades, but was held back by the Russians;

7. There was widespread resentment in Yugoslavia against Russia's coolness toward Belgrade's demands for reparations and territorial concessions from Austria;

8. There was similar resentment over Moscow's interference with Tito's fulfilment of the Yugoslav trade agreement with Britain, and a suspicion that Russian refusal to let Belgrade profit even indirectly from the Marshall Plan was motivated by Russian rather than Yugoslav interests.

For all these reasons, it would have been political suicide in his own backyard for Tito to knuckle down completely to Stalin. Instead of obeying hints, then orders, from Moscow, he fired the two members of his government who were acting as Stalin's agents. And when Moscow fired not only the top man in Yugoslavia but the whole CP directorate—going much farther than it had with Thälmann in Germany in 1933 or with Browder in the US in 1946—he answered by renewing his demand for a Balkan bloc.

It is too early to know if a compromise will be worked out. Indeed, there are rumors in circulation in the Balkans that Moscow, ever realistic, may try to make a virtue of necessity. By this version, Rumania will be incorporated bodily into the Soviet Union and Tito will be allowed to have his Balkan bloc as a species of quid pro quo which will serve both contestants. Tito will have his victory at home. And Stalin, though seemingly defeated, will ultimately gain strength by having suggested to nationalist elements in countries on the fringes of the Soviet Union from the Balkans to Central Asia that they may be allowed a greater degree of independence.

The Serbs Bang Their Fists

by Stoyan Pribichevich

BELGRADE

THE SENSATIONAL CONFLICT between Marshal Tito and Marshal Stalin can only be explained as a matter of national pride. Communist doctrines count little in this verbiage, and the Yugoslavs feel they have been insulted as a nation rather than as a party.

Some of the Cominform criticisms are justified: the people are fed up with primitive incompetence, Oriental laziness and Balkanite rudeness of administration which grew out of the forests. One doesn't wish to be called bourgeois because one has shaved, and, after all, Tito himself likes to be clean. Some of the Cominform objections have provoked laughter, such as the charge that the Yugoslav Communists are anti-Russian and that the Albanian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Czech, Polish, French and Italian Communist Parties have contributed to victory in World War II no less than Tito has.

The Yugoslav Communists feel they have won their country's freedom as patriots at bayonet point without Anglo-American or Russian help, while Ana Pauker, Georgi Dimitrov, Klement Gottwald and others arrived in Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia with the Red Army after years of comparatively pleasant life in Russia. In support of their argument, they assert that the Yugoslav partisans lost 10,000 more fighters than did the entire American forces all over the globe, and that they will not take dictates from Hitler, Truman or Stalin, least of all from Dimitrov or Gottwald.

A number of party members are confused but loyal to Tito. In their opinion, "Tito knows what he is doing." If foreign embassies or Yugoslav emigrés expect the downfall of Tito, they will be greatly disappointed. In a logical paradox which makes truth stand on its head, Tito is the Communist continuation of Yugoslav folk-epic heroes from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Winston Churchill said in 1944 that Tito held 14 German crack divisions—the number which at the same time was opposed in Italy by the American Fifth and the British Eighth Armies. These are tough people and they mean to remain tough in war or peace.

The Cominform resolution against Tito has increased Tito's prestige enormously. The Yugoslavs will quarrel among themselves, but when a foreign power attempts to boss them, they get together like a pack of wolves. Nothing is more wrong than the usual American editorial notion that Tito is Stalin's number-one stooge. On the contrary, his is the only independent Communist Party outside of the USSR.

Tito has been constantly against a union with Bulgaria on the ground that three times in one generation the Bulgars have stabbed the Serbs in the

Drawings from Yugoslavia by the English artist Paul Hogarth.

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back, and must be reëducated. But the Russians—the Soviets as well as the old Czarists—have always favored the Bulgarians on the basis of geopolitical strategy in a possible war with the Turks. The greatest mistake of Zujovitch and Hebrang, ousted members of Tito's government, is that they appealed to the Soviets, the Bulgars and the Czechs against Tito and aroused Yugoslav national feeling.

Right or wrong, the belief here is that Balkan and Central European Communist softies will have to apologize to Tito and the Yugoslav Communists. It is also said that America should not entertain false hopes and underestimate the nationalistic temper of the Yugoslav people.

The most significant phrase in the reply of the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Communist Party to the Cominform resolution was: How can such language be used "against a people who in thousands of battles have looked death in the eye"?

Marx Overlooked This

by Alexander Kendrick

VIENNA

THE ONE THING Karl Marx did not foresee was the inner contradictions of communism. They have manifested themselves in many ways inside the Soviet Union, and the split in the Cominform shows that they now have international jurisdiction.

The Cominform charges against the Tito regime are somewhat exaggerated, and the bill of particulars could in one part or another be applied to all other governments and national fronts of Central and Eastern Europe. The heart of the matter is Marshal Tito's known determination to form a Balkan federation of Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania, and perhaps eventually a Central European union.

Moscow has opposed this aim for two years, even to the extent of slapping down Bulgaria's veteran Dimitrov when he brought it up a few months ago. But Tito never recanted. On the contrary, he reiterated the idea and no one in this part of the world disputes its inevitability. Though such a bloc would not be anti-Soviet, neither would it be subservient to Soviet foreign policy, and a little independence is a dangerous thing to the Kremlin strategists. They have preferred bilateral treaties in the Balkans, all of them with strings leading directly to Red Square.

The Yugoslav internal situation will jell only at the Communist Party Congress which opens July 21, but the party program to be presented at that time is not quite the document of revolt that the headlines make it out to be. In fact, not a single one of its eight planks is anything different from what Moscow itself has said it believed. "Peaceful coöperation with all countries which wish to coöperate" is the number-one Stalin slogan, and to leap at this as proof that Tito has gone over to the West, as some have already done, is slightly ridiculous.

To be particularly noted in the party program is a pledge of continued Yugoslav coöperation "in the struggle of the democratic, anti-imperialist forces of the world headed by the Soviet Union against the anti-democratic, imperialist forces and warmongers." The Yugoslavs may not have gone to Bucharest, but they went to Warsaw and joined a common front on the German question.

The tone of the Cominform excommunication writ can be understood only in the light of strictly Russian thinking and experience. The Soviet Communist Party for a long time has been berating the Ukrainians, Armenians, Kirghiz and other minorities for excessive nationalism, and has drawn an operational chalk line between detestable "bourgeois nationalism" and laudable "socialist patriotism." It is also accustomed to rhetoric such as the "road to treason," to charges of revisionism, adventurism, Trotskyism, infantile leftism, and can speak with some authority on questions like the liquidation of the kulaks and the nationalization of small business.

It is less understandable that other members of the Cominform should have swallowed this completely Russian caviar. Nationalism, even excessive nationalism, has been the chief stock in trade of all of the Eastern European Communist Parties. More in Yugoslavia than anywhere else, it is still the greatest strength of the CP. The popular-front concept, now apparently condemned, was the usual means of Communist accession to power and, indeed, was the Cominform's own basic tenet when it was founded. The other Communist Parties can also plead guilty to the charge of lying down on the task of carrying out collectivization, and it is rather surprising that the Politburo's Zhdanov should forget that the process took twenty years in his own country.

The ideological smoke screen of the

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Cominform fight as usual covers up some concrete political facts. One is Tito's aim of a Balkan federation, against the Soviet Union's wishes. Another is the undoubted effect of the Marshall Plan on Eastern Europe, and the Yugoslav knowledge that their dream of industrializing their country depends on machine tools obtained from the West; they would prefer this by far to building factories with Russian credits in order to process Russian raw materials for Russian consumers, or to trade Yugoslav prune brandy for Czech prune brandy.

Finally, it now seems established that the Cominform is no mere advertising agency, and that with it and in it Soviet policy takes precedence over the task of "building socialism in one country" even to the extent of interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and calling for the overthrow of their leaders. Apparently Zhdanov is staking the whole political future inside the Soviet Union on this issue. And he may have made the mistake of his life.

The effect of the Cominform split on the cold war is still to be determined. If the Yugoslavs are such rampant nationalists, it is hard to see how they can drop their territorial claims on Austria. On the other hand the Russians, who are doing the negotiating, may now heave out the Yugoslav ballast in the Austrian treaty talks. There are rumors that they are now willing to exchange Austria for Berlin. Perhaps the governor of Trieste can now be named.

Psychologically, there is no doubt about the effect of Tito's stand. The Eastern alliance is not as monolithic as had been supposed, and this is encouraging to those who believe that a European settlement still is possible. It might be a good time, too, for us to do a little soft pedaling and, above all, for ECA's Paul Hoffman to stop using the Marshall Plan as an instrument for cutting off trade with the East. There may be others who agree with Tito. We may be witnessing the birth of a Fourth Force on the continent.

NEW YORK SCHOOL PURGE

The New York City Board of Education is trying to make a record for itself in the hotly competitive field of bigotry and hysteria.

A few days ago, it barred the *Nation* from the city's public-school libraries because of a series of articles in that paper on the political and social activities of the Catholic Church. Now it is attempting to bar from the teaching profession in New York known Communists or suspected Communists. If the Board gets its way, the door will be open to an unparalleled reign of terror, in which "guilt by association" will be standard practice, people will be punished for their beliefs without any reference to their acts, and individuals will have unlimited opportunities to injure their personal enemies.

The Board of Education controls all schools below the level of the municipal colleges, which are ruled by a Board of Higher Education. Several years ago, this second Board dismissed Dr. Francis J. Thompson, of City College, on the charge that he is a Communist. Incidentally, he denies this charge; he served during the war in Military Intelligence, which was certainly not in the habit of admitting known radicals to its ranks.

Last year, his case was appealed to the Acting Commissioner of Education of New York State, who canceled the action of the Board of Higher Education. It was ridiculous, said the Acting Commissioner, in effect, to dismiss a teacher for membership in a party which is perfectly legal in New York State. But this decision has again been appealed, to the Commissioner of Education himself, and the Board of Education has filed a supplementary brief in the case, in which it seeks to lay down the broad principle that no Communist or "fellow traveler" shall be allowed to retain a position in the schools. Guilt as a fellow traveler would be decided on a basis of the people with whom you associate, the books and magazines you read, or, obviously, chance remarks dropped in the presence of a hostile listener.

New York City liberals are fighting this proposal. They are asking the State Commissioner not to accept the proposal of the Board of Education without full public hearings at which opponents will be allowed to express their views. Such hearings should be held not earlier than October. Then the teachers, now scattered far and wide in the summer vacation, will be back in New York and able to organize to fight a measure so dangerous in itself and so intolerable to their dignity and self-respect.

POTSDAM NEEDS REVISION

When the Western powers decided on a separatist regime in their part of Germany, they asked for trouble in Berlin and got it. The latest one of the series of Western moves and Eastern counter-moves has been the formal Soviet withdrawal from the Kommandatura—the four-power government of the former German capital.

From the start, the point of the four-power occupation of Berlin has been symbolic—a demonstration to the Germans of the unity of their conquerors. Once failure to achieve such unity became conclusive, Berlin lost its symbolic value. Moreover, the city became a military liability to the Western powers, a place the Soviets could overwhelm any time they chose.

The start of the present series of moves and counter-moves was the Western powers' introduction of a new currency as a first concrete step toward

German Justice

BERLIN (NR correspondent)

DR. MAX WILMY, former editor of Julius Streicher's weekly, *Der Stürmer*, the most virulent of the Nazi anti-Semitic publications, admitted to a German denazification court at Fürth, Bavaria, that his work for *Der Stürmer* had earned him a fortune of 2,850,000 marks. The court found him guilty, sentenced him to one year of labor and confiscation of half his property.

This left Wilmy well over a million marks. The average income of a German worker is about 500 marks a month.

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creating their own west German state. Since then the Soviets have done all they could to make their point that the Westerners are in Berlin only on their sufferance. And the Westerners have announced that, come what may, they intend to stay in Berlin.

When the Soviets cut off food by rail for the two million inhabitants of the German capital, they apparently were confident that the threat of starvation would force the Western Allies to yield immediately. But with an unparalleled mobilization of air power, Britain and America brought in enough food—of special types—to keep Berliners going, at least for several weeks.

That the situation is dangerous in the extreme goes without saying. The aerial shuttle is conducted at enormous cost and is subject to great risks both of bad weather and of possible hostile action by the Soviets. It could hardly be stretched to include fuel for normal industrial life or for winter heating of homes. Nevertheless, after the East forced a limited showdown, the West met the challenge and won the first round of the battle of Berlin.

While this dangerous duel goes on, some Washington officials have begun to talk privately about a settlement with the Soviets. There is a tendency to believe that the fear of losing face with the Germans may not be a good enough reason to justify the presence of the Western powers in Berlin. Obviously, both the Soviets and the US by their actions in Germany have violated the Potsdam Agreement in respect to maintaining economic unity in Berlin, each accusing the other of doing it first.

Historians will have to decide which is right. But the Berlin crisis points up the necessity for a new substitute for the discarded agreement to be achieved at the earliest possible moment and on the widest possible scale.

LESSON FOR REBELS

Since 1928, Peter Wynne of New York City has been a delegate to Republican National Conventions. In 1952, however, he probably will sit in the gallery. For Wynne misbehaved himself last month at Philadelphia. He cast his ballot for Senator Robert A. Taft. This deeply embarrassed the other 96 New York delegates, who wanted to present a solid Dewey front to the outside world. Now the 73-year-old insurgent is being made to see the error of his ways.

For those people who wonder what happens to a delegate who votes independently, Wynne's case is instructive. First, Republicans in Wynne's Third Assembly District plan to run Wynne's organization out of existence. Next, the county committee will strip Wynne of his patronage powers: he will no longer have the right to appoint election inspectors, for instance. Finally, with the backing of Dewey forces in Albany, local Republicans will support another candidate for Congress against Wynne.

ERP "IMPERIALISM"

Congress has at last appropriated the money for the first year of the European Recovery Program. President Truman has signed the Act; several of the European nations have entered into bilateral treaties with the US. Full details have not yet been published; but enough is known to give a fairly accurate picture of what the terms will mean. The European beneficiaries in general are obliged to:

1. Get on their feet, financially and economically, at the earliest possible moment, to make further US assistance unnecessary.

2. Maintain democratic principles of liberty and freedom.

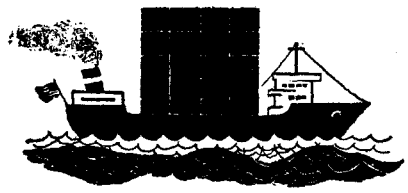
3. Stabilize their currencies, balance their budgets, establish and maintain realistic exchange rates.

4. Set aside in local currencies a sum equal to the American aid received.

5. Prevent activities by their cartels which are against the public interest, such as price fixing, and allocating markets.

6. Give most-favored-nation treatment to enemy territories now occupied by the US, with a few exceptions.

7. Ensure that profits of American businessmen, earned inside their territories, shall be convertible.



DRAWING BY RAMON GORDON

8. Help the US to make good shortages within this country arising from the plan.

9. Help the US to stockpile strategic raw materials.

These conditions represent a substantial easing of earlier American terms. They have been hammered out in bilateral negotiations.

Do the final agreements constitute a death grip of American capitalism upon the economies of the European countries, as US radicals have charged? While no full answer to this question is possible now, most of the earlier criticism appears far too sweeping.

The actions stipulated will be taken by the governments involved, according to their own time-tables. Everything depends, therefore, on the degree of pressure the US puts on these countries if what they do is disapproved. Already, a sharp warning has been issued that beneficiaries of ERP shall not sell to Russia, or her satellites, possible war materials which the US would refuse to sell directly. Trouble also looms ahead regarding the value of some currencies, such as the British pound. The Americans appear to feel it is overvalued. An important school of British opinion argues that its internal value is increasing while the internal value of the dollar continues to shrink, and that on this basis the pound is seriously undervalued.

Another possible source of friction with the British is the curb demanded on cartels. This may be averted, however, if the British pass their proposed anti-monopoly bill.

The US is now overwhelmingly the dominant world power outside the Russian area. Whatever we do, or don't do, has a profound effect on other countries. But, certainly, ERP terms do not automatically put American handcuffs on the beneficiaries. What we do from now on will tell the story.

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THE DEMOCRATS' LAST CHANCE

THE DEMOCRATS need a William Jennings Bryan. We mean the Bryan who came, full of fight, to the Democratic National Convention of 1912. He found a party threatened by resurgent Republicanism and by a rising Socialist movement, and stricken with conservatism and senility. By a single action, so simple that all could understand it, and so imperative that none could resist it, Bryan saved the Democratic Party and opened the way to the presidency of Woodrow Wilson.

Bryan proposed and carried this motion:

"RESOLVED: That in this crisis in our party's career and in our country's history this convention sends greetings to the people of the United States, and assures them that the party of Jefferson and Jackson is still the champion of popular government and equality before the law. As proof of our fidelity to the people, we hereby declare ourselves opposed to the nomination of any candidate for President who is the representative of or under obligation to J. Pierpont Morgan, Thomas F. Ryan, August Belmont, or any other member of the privilege-hunting and favor-seeking class.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That we demand the withdrawal from this convention of any delegate or delegates constituting or representing the above-named interests."

Where is the Bryan of 1948 who can rescue the Democratic Party from Wall Street domination and assure the people that the party of Jefferson and Jackson, Wilson and Roosevelt, is once again the champion of popular government and equality before the law? The crisis of his country and of his party is as urgent as in 1912. Americans are demanding the progressive leadership that alone can win lasting prosperity and peace. James Forrestal, John Snyder, George Allen and Harry Truman—the men who control the Democratic Party today—can no more provide that leadership than could their conservative counterparts whom Bryan drove from party control thirty-six years ago.

For sixteen years the Democrats have held power because Franklin Roosevelt gave the Democratic Party a progressive faith and because he taught Americans to distrust the Republican Party as the means of carrying out the will of the common man. He taught Americans to demand competence in government, and he gave them competent government.

Now, three years after his death, his legacy has been exhausted by the Truman Administration. It is the Republicans who stand for competence in government—the central campaign issue of 1948. It is the Democrats who stand accused of incom-

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petence. It is too late to deny the charges or to place all the blame on Congress. Every liberal Democrat knows that too many of the charges are true.

The choice for Democrats at Philadelphia is to find progressive leadership or perish.

On one side the Democrats face a revived Republican Party. Its platform is written to appeal to independents. Its new managers are master builders in organization, trained to take and to hold political power. Its nominees are strong. Both gain from impressive records, relative freedom from the actions of the 80th Congress and the ability to win important labor support by the use of a little reform and a lot of patronage.

On the other side the Democrats face the New Party. Its program is militant. Its leadership is aggressive. Its basic support is solid. History may be on its side.

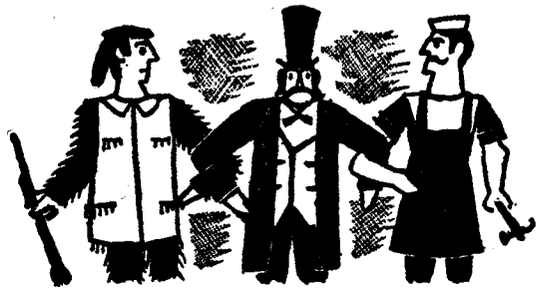
"Nature abhors a vacuum," Franklin Roosevelt told the Democratic Party in 1938, reminding it that men who fail to lead are soon replaced. The Democratic national leadership has been one immense vacuum since Roosevelt's death.

Harry Truman and his friends have failed to act as the party in power in fighting for liberal measures. They have failed to act as the party in opposition by opposing reactionary measures pushed by Republicans. If they keep control of the Democratic Party, then the Democratic Party will be replaced as the party in power by the Republicans in November, and it will be replaced as the party in opposition by the New Party after November. The Democratic Party will perish, as it should. "The system of party responsibility in America," Roosevelt wrote, "requires that one of its parties be the liberal party and the other the conservative party." Fundamental in a democracy is the death and replacement of a major party which fails to lead.

No longer can the Democrats ride into power on Roosevelt's voice and will. Yet if they fight with his legacy they can win in 1948, or lose on a winning principle and soon return.

Roosevelt's legacy is clear. "My party," he said, "can succeed only so long as it continues to be the party of militant liberalism."

Never was the outlook brighter for such a party because never was the need greater than today: the need, that is, for a party which asserts in action the supremacy of democracy in fulfilling the needs of modern man.



I. The Party Grows

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY has never been a national party. Since the Civil War it has functioned as an emergency party, called into service only in times of crisis when the Republicans had made such a mess of things that the voters demanded a change. In the intervening years, between Cleveland and Wilson and between Wilson and Roosevelt, the party lapsed into an old-line regularity hard for even the Republicans to match.

The presidential victories won by the Democrats in the last fifty years have all been the result of a coalition of forces in the party to achieve a particular result in a particular election. Finding the right combination was always a hard task. Twice, in 1904 and 1924, the Democrats tried to win by combining the conservative South and the firmly entrenched conservative state machines, and failed. Three times in 1896, 1900, and again in 1908, they tried combining the South and the West in an openly sectional approach.

In 1912 the Democrats won with Woodrow Wilson and 44.9 percent of the total vote, only because of the split in the Republican Party. During his first term as a minority President, however, Wilson laid his plans for a broad majority combination. "Like Stephen A. Douglas," Binkley writes in his *American Political Parties*, "Woodrow Wilson sought to combine the Western agrarians with Eastern labor and business, and as the standpat and the progressive factions of the Republican Party recombined he endeavored to attract the dissatisfied in both elements."

"During the war years," Binkley continues, "President Wilson produced an almost hypnotic effect by his felicitous phrasing of the ideological common denominator of the Great Crusade, and he obtained a hitherto unknown unity that transcended party and became national." But, the story goes on, "this unprecedented unanimity was suddenly broken by a revival of partisan strife precipitated by the President's maladroit appeal for the election of a Democratic Congress in the mid-term elections of 1918."

Wilson did not live to fight another day. His dream of a great national party died with the wartime coalition. Between 1920 and 1932, the elements of the old Wilson team grew further and further apart. The Democrats always had a harder time than the Republicans in sticking together because in addition to an Eastern and a Western, their party had a Southern branch. The demoralization of the party was complete when the South stubbornly

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rejected the hero of the Northern city Democrats, Al Smith.

Wilson's young follower Franklin Roosevelt knew the lesson of Wilson's 1916 triumph by heart when he began to work out a combination for his own election. His winning of the 1932 nomination by the creation of the alliance of West and South against the opposition to him which Smith organized in the East, was inspired. "His nomination," Binkley writes, "signified that at last the party had a popular leader who united every section of his party as Cleveland, Bryan and Wilson had never quite done."

"While no notable political leader ever came to or passed through the presidential office with an inflexible political philosophy," Binkley continues, "it is no disparagement to say that Franklin D. Roosevelt may be the most inveterate opportunist of them all. The thumbnail platform he wrote for the 1932 convention was 'synthesized overnight out of opportunism.' After all, it is the politician-statesman's function to ascertain, express and translate into public policies the current balance of social forces. In the light of electoral verdicts, what political leader has been more successful in performing that particular function than the second President Roosevelt?"

Roosevelt won four different elections by being four different men with four different campaign techniques, but always with one basic design: a coalition of the South, the big-city machines and organized labor. In 1932, when Franklin Roosevelt was less than positive in either program or leadership, the South and the powerful city machines backed him from the first, and a strong protest vote from former Republicans provided the extra strength to put him in. That really was not a Democratic Party victory. The second time, President Roosevelt ran on his record. Labor and progressives worked more actively as conservative supporters fell away, but the Democratic Party nationally was still deeply divided. The same applied in 1940 and 1944, when the campaigns were highly complicated by the crisis in Europe and our own involvement in war.

Louis M. Hacker describes the Democrats' fundamental support after 1932 in this way:

"Previously political power had been in the hands of the middle class—the industrialists, the bankers, the large farmers. Now political power was concentrating more and more in the hands of the lower-middle class and the workers. Those who voted for Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932, 1936, 1940 and 1944 came from the smaller farms throughout the country; from the urban dwellers who toiled as workers and salaried employees; from small distributors, small manufacturers, and those on the WPA rolls." Roosevelt and Farley tied this support into their original coalition—the South, the city machines and labor.

Except for Philadelphia in 1932 and Baltimore in 1940 and 1944, the New Deal carried all twelve of the counties which contain cities of more than half a million population (1940 census) all four times. The nine states in which these twelve cities are located have an electoral vote of 218, out of the Electoral College total of 531. The areas outside of the big cities in all of these states usually give Republican majorities, and in 1944, except for Massachusetts and California, the majority of the counties in them were Republican. The trick for the Democrats was, and is, polling a large enough total in the cities to blanket the count from the outlying regions. Every time the lesser Roosevelt politicians tended to become diverted to the minutiae of politics in the less highly populated districts, they were reminded of what areas really counted.

By paying close attention to winning the largest possible majority in the 12 great cities of the nine crucial states, Roosevelt was able to get out their marginal votes. In this way, in turn, the Democrats were able to bring out the marginal vote in border-line states and in the areas influenced by the cities.

But in every election after 1932, the Democratic Party organization concentrated not only on appealing to the labor and liberal elements in the Northern cities but to the Southern conservatives as well. "Vigor and enthusiasm" were needed from the South too, if those states were to do their share in winning over marginal votes in neighboring states. As the conflict between President Roosevelt and the Republocrats of the South grew, the Democratic majority in the "Solid South" declined. But even in 1944, when there was widespread talk of a Southwide revolt and walkout from the national party, the Democratic majority was less than 55 percent in only four of the sixteen Southern and border states.

Every Democratic victory in this century has been based on the solid electoral vote of the South. However, in terms of the popular vote, FDR could have won without the South in 1932, 1936 and even in 1940. Deducting the popular vote cast in the 16 Southern and border states from the total Democratic column in 1932, the party still had a lead of almost three million votes in the remainder of the country, a more than six-million-vote lead in 1936, just under a 700,000-vote lead in 1940. But, in 1944, even with Harry S. Truman replacing Henry A. Wallace in the interests of "party unity," the Democratic vote would have been 714,483 votes short of the Republican, without the Southern states.

The Roosevelt-New Deal approach to party victory hinged as much on the enthusiastic support of the Solid South as on the wholehearted backing of organized labor and the machines of the big cities.

By 1938, however, the conflict between Roosevelt and the Southern reactionaries seemed intolerable to the President. It had become all too clear that government by coalition raised a basic political problem. The Administration was, by then, almost equally concerned with the problem of fascist aggression abroad and that of extending reform at home. The Southern Democrats supported the President's position on collective security but were increasingly implacable foes of his do-

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mestic program. The Westerners supported his progressive domestic measures but at the same time clung to their isolationist views on world affairs. Only the Eastern Democrats could be depended upon to vote solidly with the President on both sets of issues. For a while the Administration managed by deftly uniting the East and the West on domestic matters and the East and the South on foreign policies. But obviously the times were too tense for such an arrangement to last.

It was then that Roosevelt determined to break with Democratic political tradition. When the Southerners refused to go along on his scheme to reorganize the Supreme Court, his Dutch was really up, and he announced his intention to "interfere" in the party primaries on the side of candidates who would loyally support the New Deal in the Congress. Jim Farley and all the professional politicians on his side were against the move. The Republicans promptly labeled it a "purge." But the President was secure in his conviction that the time had come, not just to trade in the Walter Georges and the "Cotton Ed" Smiths for Claude Peppers and Lister Hills, though that was certainly a major political need, but to bring about a complete readjustment of party lines, fitting party labels to the ideas the politicians really stood for.

Frances Perkins, Harry Hopkins, Lowell Mellett, Henry Wallace, Tom Corcoran and Ben Cohen all encouraged the view that the time had come when the spread of organized labor into every corner of the country, and the growing unity of farmers and workers behind the New Deal program, no longer made it necessary for the Democratic Party to be intimidated by the backward elements of the South. They encouraged FDR's thought that perhaps the New Deal might trade the Southern conservatives for Western Republican liberals who were misfits in their own party. That trade had already largely occurred in the East, led by Fiorello LaGuardia and Gifford Pinchot.

So the "purge" was on.

Roosevelt's thinking was clear as he went into the battle, but his equipment was shoddy. The candidates with whom he proposed to rout the reactionary incumbents were, for the most part, weak reeds, unknown to him or unworthy of his personal support. The only "managers" available to run the various state campaigns were New Dealers, completely untried in political intrigue and handicapped by being regarded as "carpetbaggers" by the natives they hoped to win over to the Roosevelt side.

Most important of all, for the first time in his life President Roosevelt had adopted a tactic that was unrealistic. His campaign to defeat the reactionary Southern leaders was based on winning over a group of Southern voters, far more inclined toward Walter George than toward Franklin Roosevelt, by persuading them, on the basis of reason and self-interest, that the New Deal would benefit all groups in the South alike and would not interfere with white supremacy in the process.

Roosevelt had often tried the same line of argument on the value of reforms with the businessmen of the country. But he had certainly never depended on the "enlightenment" of those businessmen to win elections for him.

In the North, he encouraged increasing militancy on the part of the farmers and the workers to that end. In his foray into the South, he made no appeal to the poor whites and the Negroes who needed the New Deal's help and were ready to respond. To be sure, they were in no position to turn their masters out in 1938. The Southern primary system, the poll tax, the discriminations practised in qualifying for the vote, and the "white primary" rules, had disfranchised them. But to one of Roosevelt's proved political acumen the procedure indicated by these facts was federal action to repeal the poll tax and otherwise break the feudal power of the primary system—not to attempt to work with the Southern opposition.

The "purge" failed. Roosevelt, like Wilson, had no second chance to rebuild his party into a modern, national structure. Having failed to best the Southerners in 1938, Roosevelt saw no choice but to capitulate in 1939. Acceptance of the Administration's foreign policy by then seemed so imperative to the President and his closest advisers that they dared not risk its defeat by Southerners and Republicans bent on retaliation for continued domestic reforms.

In a twelve-year period, as E. E. Robinson points out in *They Voted for Roosevelt,* the Roosevelt leadership appealed at various times "to reformers, to radicals, to labor leaders, to businessmen, to 'internationalists'; rarely did it appeal to all of them. At no time did it have a particular appeal to the leaders in the area from which he was seen to draw basic Democratic support, that is, from the South. . . . Without the certainty of Southern support, Mr. Roosevelt's programs, speeches, actions and methods of procedure in office must have been very different, for in the nation outside the South he was a minority leader with a temporary majority."

Roosevelt would have understood and sympathized with this analysis of his dilemma. He recognized his major political problem and tried to do something about it at considerable personal cost to his own position. Had he lived out the war period, some of those who knew him best believe that he would have tried again to turn the New Deal coalition into a national party.

Instead, the leadership of the Democratic Party passed into the hands of Harry Truman after Roosevelt's death. Truman presented Roosevelt's program to Congress. He watched a coalition of Northern Republicans and Southern Democrats tear that program to pieces. He gave up fighting and so lost the 1946 elections. He surrendered then to a Republican Congress. He might have used the time to direct the rebuilding of the Democratic Party. Instead, he let the Roosevelt coalition collapse.

In the name of the bipartisan policy

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he sacrificed principle and failed really to fight for liberal measures. He ignored party leaders in determining policy and in appointing high officials. He alienated liberals by formulating a foreign policy of unending conflict. He made no real effort to work with labor. He let federal patronage dwindle without providing an alternative incentive. So the party faltered.

II. The Party Falters

LED BY ROOSEVELT, the coalition of the South, labor and the cities gave America a rebirth in democracy and led in the winning of a great war. It left permanent landmarks of progress such as the United Nations and the TVA. Now the coalition is breaking up.

The South is in revolt against the Democratic national leadership. Its rebellion is old and futile, since the Southerners have no place to go. Yet it is harmful. The Southern revolt may affect no more than 50 of the 167 votes that 16 Southern states bring to the Electoral College. But, by threatening to swing these votes to a Republican candidate, some Southerners hope to veto liberal leadership in the Democratic Party now and in the future.

By silent sabotage in the campaign, the revolt may cut down the Democratic vote in the South and the six border states. If labor were united in support of the Democratic Party, the loss could be borne. Today these states must be held if the Democrats are to win.

Labor has been a senior partner in the Democratic coalition since 1936. More and more the unions have turned out the city vote for which the bosses have claimed credit. Labor's contribution in dollars and energy was decisive in Roosevelt's last campaign.

Today the break between labor and the Truman Democrats is deep and wide. CIO-PAC officials have worked hard to draft General Eisenhower or Mr. Justice Douglas to replace Truman because they know that labor will not support the man who proposed that striking railroad workers be drafted and who subjected all government workers to a "loyalty" probe.

Nineteen forty-eight was to be the year of labor action; that was the promise of all trade-union leaders who saw in the Taft-Hartley Act, and the Republican Congress which passed it, mortal threats to the continued existence of trade unionism in America. The vehicle for labor's action in electing a liberal Congress was to be the Democratic Party. In many localities, labor has brought new life to the party in 1948.

But today labor is split.

Many AFL unions are traditionally Republican. Their objective is to elect a Congress that will amend the Taft-Hartley Act and a President who will not veto the amendment. Earl Warren has already declared his opposition to the T-H Act. Dewey may not oppose its amendment. Given a choice between Dewey and Truman, the AFL will be, at best, neutral.

Many CIO unions which in the past were most aggressive in campaigning for Roosevelt have either joined the New Party movement or will join it if Truman is nominated. These unions are among the strongest in the twelve major American cities that are vital to the Democratic Party.

Other CIO unions, if Truman is the nominee, will concentrate on local candidates. But the burden of trying to carry an unpopular national ticket is bound to make them discouraged and apathetic.

City machines, the third element in the Democratic coalition, are in bad repair. Ed Kelly and Frank Hague are tired and faltering. Ed Flynn cannot control the vote that his machine turns out on election day, and, swallowing his pride, is accepting coalition with the Republicans to withstand the Labor Party threat. Like Roosevelt, the bosses are always inclined to cut down young leadership rather than build it up. Consequently, the men who hold the posts of district and county leaders are old and worn-out. They are crumbling under the pressure of the young and aggressive leadership of the New Party.

The morale and discipline of the city machines are breaking up. The basic supports of the machine system are rotting away. Doles and baskets have passed out of the realm of machine charity. Widows and orphans, the old and the sick have other places to turn. Fixing parking tickets, filling out immigration forms, aiding in burial services, arranging it with the judge, went out with prohibition. The unions are providing their members with the friendly services that the bosses once used to win loyalty. The needs of the people—for low-cost housing, price control, social security—are needs that the machines cannot fulfill.

Patronage, the great cementing force of all machines, is dwindling. Civil service has cut down the clerkships in the customs office that the precinct captain disposed of; inflation has shriveled up the poll watcher's fee that gave the job of committeeman a small but adequate reward. The golden days of the city machines have vanished.

Threatened also are the assets of the party—the workers, the hard core

(Continued on page 18)

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THE DEMOCRATS IN THE

THE Republican factional chiefs who make the big decisions have their little differences. But by comparison with their Democratic Party opposite numbers, the Republicans are as like as so many store-window dummies. Deep, lasting, fundamental differences among the Democratic factions are clearly personified in some of their leaders whom the New Republic *sketches here.*

Ed Flynn, of the Bronx, is a fading tintype of the New York political boss that once dominated Democratic national conventions. Time was when the man who controlled enough votes in New York City to guarantee the 47 electoral votes of New York State was the man who could control the national party.

This year the rule won't work. Tammany is not what it was; the Brooklyn machine is weak; and even Boss Flynn, who for 25 years held his Bronx principality secure from such threats as LaGuardia reformism, goes to Philadelphia more as a supplicant than a ruler. Flynn's machine is suffering from decrepitude. Some even say it may be running its last race. Certainly he and his cohorts suffered a grave defeat in February when Henry Wallace and the ALP were able to elect Leo Isacson to Congress with a plurality of more than 10,000 votes over the Democratic candidate on Flynn's home ground.

In the Isacson election the ALP was able to get its full 16,000-vote strength to the polls. The Democratic machine was able to muster only a light vote, and even then a large percentage deserted to Isacson.

Ed Flynn is as aware as anyone that his big-boss status is at stake and has behaved accordingly. An intimate of the White House, he has pressured Truman constantly to support Palestine. In pre-convention preparations he has worked through Representative Emanuel Celler (D, N. Y.) to see that the draft of the Democratic platform is of such liberalism that it will make Southern hair stand on end.

To win in the Bronx, the Democratic Party must be liberal enough to compete with the New Party. So must it be throughout all of New York City, where the ALP's reliable bloc of some 400,000 votes has been the decisive election factor for more than ten years. That is why Ed Flynn this time is asking favors, not bossing the inner councils.

James Roosevelt, FDR's eldest son and chairman of the California State Democratic Committee, is one of the few new figures among Democratic

national leaders. Jimmy is ascending in party politics not so much because he is his father's son as because he had the good sense to strike out for himself.

When he settled in California to make his living selling insurance, Roosevelt started putting down roots for a political career by the trustworthy method of attending ward and precinct meetings, making speeches and getting to know everybody.

Two years ago he was strong enough to beat Truman's henchman, Ed Pauley, the oil man, in a contest over the state chairmanship. Pauley wanted the job for one of his own men. During his tenure Roosevelt has managed to keep control and has increased his own statewide prestige considerably.

When it came time to choose a delegation for Philadelphia, he insisted that delegates be selected by each Congressional District rather than be hand-picked from the top, the method the Pauley faction prefers. Since that selection was made last February a good many things have happened inside the Truman Administration—the zig-zag course on Palestine, the offer to give Trieste back to Italy, the consequent weakening of the UN and the Southern Democratic disaffection over civil rights. Roosevelt publicly has disapproved the Administration's foreign policy, and at the Jackson Day dinner significantly omitted Truman's name and gave Eisenhower a boost.

All these things indicate that Jimmy Roosevelt is far from a party regular if regularity means last-ditch support of Harry Truman. His delegates have signed an ambiguous pledge saying, "I personally prefer Harry S. Truman as the Democratic Party nominee," but not promising to vote for him.

Given an opening, Roosevelt and his delegates would prefer to vote for a candidate closer to their political principles than Truman, and might even be willing to take a chance on Eisenhower.

Alben W. Barkley, the senior Senator from Kentucky, has qualifications that make him invaluable to the Democratic Party in its 1948 hour of need. He is a Southerner who has remained neutral in the Southern revolt against President Truman's civil-rights program. He has neither repudiated the President nor supported him so thoroughly as to be closely identified with the Truman clique. Above all, he is a persuasive speaker and a patient negotiator.

So, if anyone could, Senator Barkley might be instrumental in holding together the rickety, disintegrating Democratic coalition which is the party's only faint hope of success next

November. Within party councils Barkley's position as an elder statesman is roughly equivalent to that of Senator Vandenberg in the GOP.

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SMOKE-FILLED ROOM

For himself the Senator does not want anything in Philadelphia, since his age—he is 70—and failing eyesight rule him out for the vice-presidency. Such selflessness strengthens him as an impartial arbiter and dispenser of political wisdom gained from 35 years in Congress. He played important parts in all four Roosevelt conventions. He will be important in this one.

Sam Rayburn was very much on Harry Truman's mind in 1944. The man who became President went to the Democratic convention that year with a speech in his pocket that would have nominated Rayburn for Vice President if all had gone according to plan.

Of course it didn't. Last year, at a dinner honoring Rayburn, Truman politely declared, "No one wishes more than I that you had been nominated for Vice President in 1944." No one except Sam Rayburn perhaps.

In fact, Rayburn, as Minority Leader of the House, has been of little help to the President in the 80th Congress. For this Rayburn blames Truman, charging that the party's congressional leaders seldom are taken into the confidence of the White House on plans and appointments.

Rayburn, a conservative Texan, had his fill when Truman propounded his civil-rights program. He has not gone as far as other Southern revolters in fighting Truman, but if a real movement for any other candidate developed, Rayburn could not be counted on to support the President.

The ex-Speaker of the House is particularly fond of General Eisenhower, who went into his northeast Texas district and made a speech about him in 1946. As a result, Rayburn had no opposition for reëlection.

This year he has strong opposition, since a state senator, Grover Cleveland Morris, is running against him. So Rayburn wants a strong national ticket to help him along.

Senator Lister Hill, a genuine New Dealer who has broken openly with President Truman, occupies a stronger strategic position in the Democratic convention than is justified by his state's voting power. Hill, as leader of the Alabama delegation, inherits the disproportionate strength that has impressed Democratic conventions ever since the days of "24 votes for Underwood."

Intellectually, Hill favors broader civil rights in the South, but politically he has dodged the issue of Truman's civil-rights program. His break with the President was over conservative Democrats' and Republicans' getting choice jobs on the Federal Reserve Board and other governmental organs. Such a policy, he felt, was a complete betrayal of the principles of Franklin Roosevelt.

Hill was truly a protégé of the late President. It was FDR who decided that Hill should move from the House to the Senate when Hugo Black was elevated to the Supreme Court. Hill inherited much of Black's Alabama political machine and then built it up further through skillful use of patronage. Now he has a statewide network of officeholders loyal to him, many of them young, most of them politically progressive.

Such strong political backing enabled Hill's slate of convention delegates to win, without even campaigning, against Governor Jim Folsom and others. Hill's aim at the convention is to work out a platform acceptable to Southerners so that the party won't fall to pieces. If it could be managed, he would like either Douglas or Eisenhower as a candidate.

He has been working actively for the General. If any of his plans jell, Hill, through Alabama's lead-off position, can start the ball rolling at the convention.

Jake Arvey was the object of some skepticism when Big Ed Kelly retired as mayor of Chicago and surrendered to him titular control of the Cook County machine.

A feeling that Arvey would be no more than a puppet has been partly vindicated by the way Kelly has kept veto power over his successor's actions in Chicago and Cook County politics.

Their machine is one of the most ruthlessly efficient in all the land, capable of delivering between 400,000 and 500,000 straight machine votes in

DRAWINGS BY MACKEY

any general election or any special election when party control is at stake. Even in its best years, the opposing Republican machine can count on only 200,000 votes.

To the national Democratic Party the Kelly-Arvey machine is important because it frequently can use its Democratic city votes to offset a Republican downstate majority. This year Kelly and Arvey have done a neat job of playing both sides of the Democratic street, Arvey coming out against Truman while Kelly suavely placates the President behind the scenes.

This seeming divergence of opinion exists partly because Jake Arvey genuinely believes in the kind of New Deal domestic reforms which Harry Truman has been incapable of putting across. Arvey therefore would be happy to swing his vote to some nominee other than the President. But if, as seems inevitable, Harry Truman has it in the bag, the Chicago boys have their lines open to the White House through Kelly.

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(Continued from page 15)

of voters, the financial supporters—built on this loose and outworn coalition.

In 1936, 150,000 party workers organized 130,789 precinct, 3,531 county and 51 state committees for the Democratic Party. The numbers today on paper are not much less. But in place of an active army of 150,000 enthusiastic campaigners, there is often only a token force.

There are 150,000 stalwarts who contribute to the party, from the Jackson Day diners in evening dress at the Waldorf-Astoria, to the farmers in shirtsleeves at the county barbecue. But the party's financial basis is also crumbling. In 1928 and 1932 it drew on bankers and brokers for huge contributions. By 1940 it was relying on officeholders and organized labor to pay its bills. In 1944, bankers and manufacturers contributed more than 40 percent of Republican funds and less than 13 percent of the Democratic income. The Democrats drew from small businessmen, labor, consumer-goods producers, Hollywood, and neighborhood moving-picture theatre owners.

The Hatch Act, the Smith-Connally Act, and now the Taft-Hartley Act, all serve to cut deeply into sources of support for the Democratic Party. Funds have been available, but for a price in political corruption that the Democrats could not pay. Truman's two-faced policy toward Israel has left the city machines high and dry. By contrast, the New Party, using aggressive fund-raising techniques, took in as much as the Democrats or the Republicans in the first six months of 1948—income which the Democrats lost.

Another dwindling asset of the Democratic Party is the hard core of regular voters. They were close to 50 percent during the New Deal. Today they are, perhaps, the 32 percent of the voters who indicated continued support of President Truman during one of his lowest periods of popularity.

Most significant, perhaps, is the loss of the spirit that distinguishes a live party. In conservative areas the Democratic spirit is drained by senility; in progressive areas, the breakaway of the New Party has caused division. Still deeper is the loss of spirit because liberals have not carried their program beyond the New Deal and given it shape and body in terms of the present needs of the American people.

To the public, the Democratic Party is its national leadership—the President and the 45 Senators and 185 Representatives listed as Democrats in the Congress. For all the reasons given above, the national leadership is largely paralyzed. The Democrats in Congress agree on nothing, and have voted together less often than at any time since 1930.

The Democratic National Committee asserts, as it must, that Truman's progressive proposals are killed or crippled by the Republicans in Congress; that social security, housing, price control, federal aid to education, public power, public health, progressive taxation, reclamation, reciprocal trade and adequate funds for reconstruction, have all suffered the Republican ax.

All of which is partly true. But on many occasions a *majority* of Democrats voted with the Republicans. Democrats combined with Republicans to override the presidential veto of the Reed-Bulwinkle bill exempting railroads from the Anti-Trust Act. They helped override the veto on a bill weakening the social-security system. Low-cost housing, picked as the number-one campaign issue by the Democrats, was bungled when 88 Democrats joined with Representative Wolcott and the real-estate lobby to support a phony housing bill. Only 85 Democrats opposed the bill. Party regularity has collapsed under Truman, with the Democrats solidly supporting their leaders little more than half of the time.

The root of this congressional evil is of course the Southern tories. Throughout the New Deal their practice of allying themselves with the most reactionary elements in the Republican Party to sabotage Roosevelt's program constituted a dangerous threat to party government. After the 1946 defeats, the Democrats were not only the minority party, but the Southerners were once more the predominant force within the Democratic bloc. One hundred and fourteen of 185 Democratic Representatives, and 23 of 45 Democratic Senators, were Southerners.

Truman's recourse against the Republican majority in Congress was his veto. Taft's counter-offensive was the organization of a two-thirds bloc of conservatives to override the veto. On vote after vote, proposals or vetoes of President Truman were killed by a coalition of Southern Democrats and Republicans.

One hundred and six Democratic Representatives voted to override the President's veto of the Taft-Hartley Act. Seventy-one Democrats voted to sustain the President. Ninety-seven of the 106 Democrats were Southerners.

Twenty-seven Democratic Senators voted with the Republicans to override the President's veto of the tax-reduction bill. Nineteen of the 27 were Southerners.

One hundred and one Democratic Representatives voted with the Republicans to remove thousands of workers from social-security benefits. Twenty-four Democrats opposed the measure. Eighty of the 101 were Southerners.

Ninety-four Democratic Representatives voted with the Republicans and the oil lobby to give the states control of the oil-rich tidelands; 74 of the 94 were Southerners.

The Republican Congress, committed in the main to conservative measures, was committed also to civil-rights legislation in abolishing poll taxes, discrimination and lynch law. The undercover unity of the alliance was one reason why Senator Taft broke his party's campaign pledges and refused to push legislation offensive to the Southern tories. So the American people were beaten coming and going. They may forgive the Republicans for broken promises and double dealing. But the liberal party they will not forgive.

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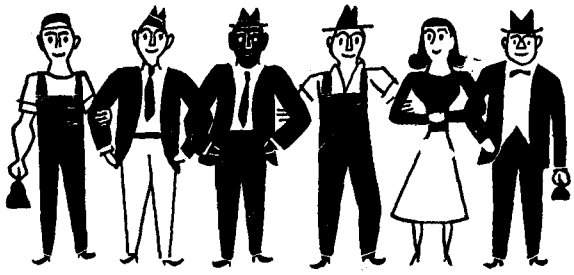

III. Challenge to the Party

JOHN HAY once called the Democratic Party "a fortuitous concourse of unrelated prejudices." The same could be said of the Republican Party. America's political problem as a young continent was how to combine strong central government with effective home rule in the states. America's answer was a two-party system in which both parties, although they chose national leaders, were not national parties at all but federations of largely independent and autonomous state parties which varied greatly in character.

These state organizations, when they met in national convention, chose platforms and men acceptable to all factions. In this way, for the sake of unanimity, they often sacrificed direction and principle and sent mediocre men to the White House because stronger men had taken sides and made enemies. Yet the federal system met the needs of a pioneer nation with as many contrasts of land, race, creed, color, religion and ways of living as exist among all the nations of Europe. It permitted all types of people to cooperate in building America.

Today the jobs of Americans are determined by national factors through the growth of monopoly. The distance between Americans is shortened by nationwide transportation systems. The standards of Americans are fixed by national legislation. The minds of Americans are shaped by national networks of press, radio and movies. The attitudes of Americans are determined by national organizations of farmers, workers, business and professional groups, all active in politics. Only the political parties have failed to keep up.

A modern political party must be one—uniform in composition, continuous in structure, outspoken in principle and platform, and cohesive in character—whose policies are determined nationally and adhered to locally, and whose membership is both active and self-disciplined in accepting majority rule. This type of party alone can survive today by providing adequate leadership.

In response to modern needs the Republican Party is becoming a national party. It was always more uniform in composition and more centralized in control than the Democratic Party. Dewey, who held his New York organization with the tightest rein, and who won the nomination by a powerful machine, is certain to modernize the party structure and reshape it into a national mold.

For the liberal party the task is always harder. The conservative party has the massed weight of the press behind it, and unlimited financial resources. It consolidates liberal reforms and stands for the status quo. Only when it commits unusual blunders and betrayals of the public interest is it endangered. But a liberal party must show the way ahead. It may gain by gathering up all the forces of discontent. But, except in moments of crisis, it cannot take power without a clear and decisive program.

As educational standards rise in America, and consciousness grows, the political awareness of Americans increases. Powerful groups of farmers, workers, Negroes, people in the professions, are not only dissatisfied with the platforms offered in past years. They are not satisfied with the rate of progress achieved. As they come to demand higher standards and faster programs, no patchwork coalition of antagonistic groups can hold them. No party today can keep within it the Southern plantation owner *and* the Northern Negro; the large investment banker and the CIO member; the corrupt machine boss and the ministers, the teachers, the students and veterans who are active liberals. To survive, a political party must set its course and choose its allies. They can be Philip Murray *or* John Rankin, but not both, if the party is to win the voters instead of fighting itself.

The New Party is founded on recognition of this truth. In accordance with modern needs, it is organizing along national lines. Its membership is disciplined and active and has provided funds as large as either major party. It demands absolute conformity of its leaders with its national policy. Its base is far too narrow for the New Party to function today as the party of militant liberalism. But where the Democratic Party shrivels up, the New Party hopes to take root and grow.

In *composition* a liberal party today must be based on organized labor. Only organized labor has the strength to match the force of organized capital in the industrial nation that America has become. Allied with labor are all the groups which stand for social and economic progress and which sincerely believe in civil liberties.

In *structure* a liberal party must give to its national committee the power to determine policy and to take measures against any rebellious minority. Its membership, as the experience of the CIO-PAC has proved, can be aroused by conviction and enthusiasm for a program rather than by increasing greed for declining patronage.

In *program* a modern liberal party must include in its party structure provision for adequate research and for continuous self-education of its own membership. It cannot evade issues and it cannot compromise. It must give shape in legislation to Roosevelt's Economic Bill of Rights and to the assurance of continuing full employment. It

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must combat intolerance, militarization and the lack of democracy. It must ally American democracy with world democracy by demonstrating to all peoples that our purpose is to raise living standards and not armies abroad; to accept social reform and not to impose our form of capitalism; to seek cooperation with Russia without sacrificing any fundamental American principle; to give real service and not lip-service to the United Nations.

The task in every case is not simply to present the problem, as liberals have too often been content to do, but to show, at each stage of development of American and of world democracy, how the next stage can be reached.

IV. The Party's Last Chance

SOUTHERN TORIES, Northern bankers, and a few aging bosses, are throttling the Democratic Party. *William Jennings Bryan—here is your task.*

First comes the nomination. During Harry Truman's occupancy of the White House, the issues Roosevelt developed have been laid aside; the liberals he relied on have been driven from office, while the conservatives he held in check have taken over the government; the coalition he built has been discarded and the party he worked with has begun to fall apart. The only convincing proof that the Democrats at Philadelphia can offer of their will to survive is to nominate a liberal candidate for the presidency in place of Harry Truman.

A truly liberal candidate could reconstruct the Roosevelt coalition under progressive direction in this campaign. He could revitalize the Democratic Party, swing the labor movement into political action, assume the leadership of all progressive forces, and carry into power not only himself but enough Northern and Western liberals to enact a liberal program.

If this round is lost and Truman is renominated, the problem for the Democrats will be: how to fall without getting hurt. The question for the majority of Americans will be: can the Democratic Party be saved; is it worth saving?

A Republican landslide will leave the Democratic Party in Congress little more than the Southerners, who may make resistance to civil-rights legislation their major activity in opposition. Then liberals may work to create another party or broaden the New Party instead of narrowing the Democratic Party. America may pass through a decade like the fifties when, from a welter of Whigs, Democrats, Anti-Masons, Nullifiers, Barn-Burners, Hunkers, Loco-Focos, Cotton Whigs, Conscience Whigs and Know-Nothings, the realignment of major parties took place and the GOP emerged.

Of course a new party will appear. Changing economic and social conditions compel a changing role of government. The Republican Party is organized to resist change. As the contrast between change and resistance is compounded, disaster brings the Republicans down and carries a liberal party to power. But the task of democracy is to govern by foresight, not hindsight; to avert disaster rather than to learn from it. The question may be: will the new party be liberal and will it come in time?

The answer lies not only with the Democratic Party but with the liberal movement itself with which it is allied. Roosevelt's success, after all, was that he served as the conductor through which the vital energy of the liberal movement flowed. Truman's failure comes partly from his own inability, partly from the fact that the same current is not flowing today.

Today the liberal movement is without ideas. It is ignorant of its methods and uncertain of its ends. It is divided against itself, and so lacking in vision and guts that often its tune is called by the most reactionary and corrupt groups of extreme Right or extreme Left. It is weak with fear, bowed down before hysteria and filled with negative hatreds, instead of a positive and contagious faith. Unless it finds new purpose, American liberalism may be permanently lost.

Others will rise where the Republicans fall. And they must fall. By now they have learned the lessons of the New Deal; but by now the New Deal itself is out of date. The Republicans cannot prevent a new depression or win lasting peace. Catastrophe, in depression or war, will lead to their defeat. But depression leads to war, and the cost of both is more than democracy can bear. *Another such victory over the Republicans and we are all undone.*

Win or lose at Philadelphia, the organization liberals choose is less important than the will they bring to the task. The job for all liberals is the same: to go through the wringer; to start at the bottom, as all great movements do, mastering the techniques and the problems of community organization; forming a full partnership with labor; training leadership in ideas, and building from local elections up; merging identities in one political organization and forcing through Congress legislation that will extend the framework of democracy to all the citizens of the South and provide for national political parties through the abolition of the archaic Electoral College and the election of our President by popular vote. Only when we build such a movement will world democracy take shape and peace be secure.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE MAN WHO LOVED GOD

by George Mayberry

IN THE GREAT RETREAT from the rationalism, and in some respects the socialism, that characterized the writing of the twenties and thirties, we have two manifestations of faith, particularly among the now middle-aged British novelists—the Yogi and the Catholic. (The number of writers of talent who adhere to any of the branches of Marxism is so few that Koestler's diatribe, *The Yogi and the Commissar*, was out of date before its appearance.)

Even Somerset Maugham, who only a few years before had written in *The Summing Up* a reasonable apology for a hedonistic agnosticism, brought the subject to the Hollywood level in *The Razor's Edge*. Aldous Huxley, with all his old brilliance but little of his early good sense, found in *Time Must Have a Stop* the answer to the world's ills in a fuzzy neo-Christianity. And Evelyn Waugh capped the issue with *Brideshead Revisited* for the book-club trade.

All three of these writers, to my knowledge, may be characterized as converts to their assorted faiths. But one other British religious writer, Graham Greene, writes as a born Catholic, and in many ways is the most interesting and talented of the "group."

Greene is possessed of so many skills that it is almost tragic that he has been unable to combine them into the major work he seems always on the verge of achieving. One answer may be that he has continuously exploited his gifts in what he charmingly calls "entertainments"—*The Confidential Agent* and *The Ministry of Fear* are the best known—and as with other potentially serious novelists, the corruption of ease has set in. In *Brighton Rock* and *The Power and the Glory* (first published in the United States as *The Labyrinthine Ways*), the potentiality of greatness was ominously present and almost casually avoided.

Now in *The Heart of the Matter* (Viking; $3) he explores again the problem of present-day Catholicism, and characteristically approaches it from the periphery, as if deliberately to belie the title of the book. His protagonist, like those of *Brighton Rock* and *The Power and the Glory*, is a "bad Catholic," a subject that has been the preoccupation of the more sensitive writers of that religion in recent years, particularly in France. Major Scobie is a British colonial official in an African outpost who progressively involves himself in adultery, financial double-dealing and suicide. But Greene's conclusion, in a conversation between Scobie's self-righteous widow and an understanding priest, is:

Father Rank clapped the cover of the diary to and said, furiously, "For goodness' sake, Mrs. Scobie, don't imagine you—or I—know a thing about God's mercy."

"The Church says . . . "

"I know the Church says. The Church knows all the rules. But it doesn't know what goes on in a single human heart."

"You think there's some hope then?" she wearily asked.

"Are you so bitter against him?"

"I haven't any bitterness left."

"And do you think God's likely to be more bitter than a woman?" he said with harsh insistence, but she winced away from the arguments of hope.

"Oh, why, why, did he have to make such a mess of things?"

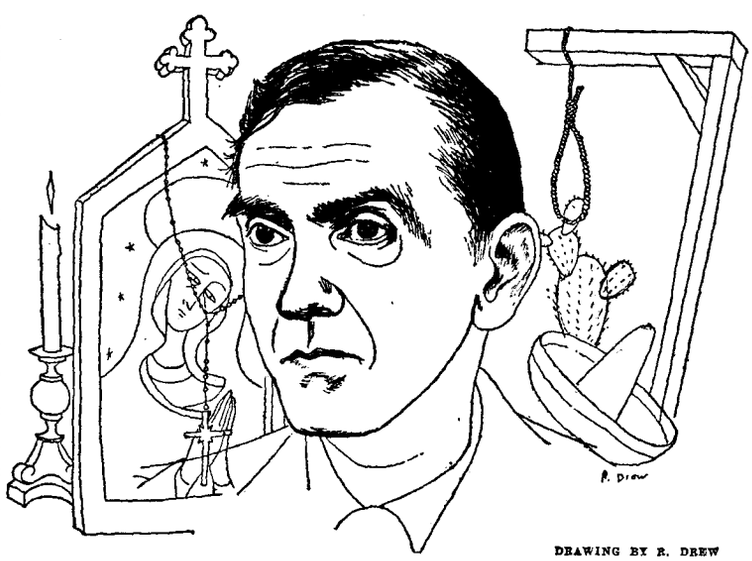
Father Rank said, "It may seem an odd thing to say—when a man's as wrong as he was—but I think, from what I saw of him, that he really loved God."

She had denied just now that she felt any bitterness, but a little more of it drained out now like tears from exhausted ducts. "He certainly loved no one else," she said.

"And you may be in the right of it there, too," Father Rank replied.

As even this brief passage suggests, Greene is a writer of brilliance and intelligence. His work possesses an inner depth and an unmistakable basic philosophy. But in between there is lacking what Henry James called the "lived . . . the quality of felt life." At the heart of the matter is the fact that Greene's serious novels bear hardly any more relation to reality than his entertainments, although they are even better reading.

One is tempted to say that Greene is always merely entertaining. In a writer whose profession of faith is so explicit, the tricks of the trade are too evident. His recurring absorption with the "bad Catholic" is a case in point. On at



DRAWING BY R. DREW

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least three occasions he has given the enemy the benefit of the doubt, only at the end to emerge with a reaffirmation of his religious belief, in spite of the weak vessel that carries it. The trickiest instance of this is in the much admired *The Power and the Glory,* where his drunken, adulterous priest is set against an honest, intelligent, selfless revolutionary. Dostoevsky could, and did, make something out of a like situation; Greene leaves the impression of slickness as fascinating as mirror-writing and bearing the same relation to literature.

In homage to Yeats, Auden wrote the epitaph to the artist with whom one cannot agree. Without elevating Greene to the stature of the two writers Auden chose to mention, it is not impertinent to quote these lines:

> Time that with this strange excuse
> Pardoned Kipling and his views,
> And will pardon Paul Claudel,
> Pardons him for writing well.

THE FREE MIND

NO RETREAT FROM REASON, by Alfred E. Cohn (Harcourt, Brace and Company; $3.50).

THE TOYNBEE of the year 2000 inspecting the charred remains of our civilization will, I hope, find alongside the works of such notable philosophers as De Nouy and Weaver, a copy of these essays by Dr. Alfred Cohn. It may convince him that as late as 1948 the species of reasoning man—restless in the search for truth, of broad sympathy and tolerance, yet skeptical of authority however armed and sanctified—was not wholly extinct. He will be puzzled, of course, as to why the opinions of such men did not sufficiently inform and enlighten the practices of statesmen to prevent the final catastrophe.

This collection comes from the graceful pen of an outstanding research scientist, a physician at once wise, learned and appropriately ironical. It ranges over a wide field, yet affords only a sample of Dr. Cohn's interests. The essays on medical subjects include brief biographical sketches of John Wyckoff and Simon Flexner, two of the author's distinguished colleagues, an illuminating analysis of the meaning of medical research and an admirable address commemorating the tercentenary of the publication of William Harvey's *De Motu Cordis.* The essay on psychoanalysis is a balanced, lucid evaluation of this comparatively new direction in medicine—a direction that is not, to be sure, the only highway to an understanding of the organism, but broad and undeniably of great promise. "What is striking," as Dr. Cohn points out in a particularly felicitous passage, "is how many tissues, organs and systems are called upon, and in how many ways, to be surrogate for mental and emotional distress."

In *No Retreat from Reason,* Dr. Cohn reminds us sharply that the abandonment, even if only temporary, of the method of reason means the destruction of free men in a free society. The appeal on behalf of mystical faiths, the bathos used to advocate the simple goodness of earlier times, the passionate exhortations to return to the old certainties and to the old order when the few were in authority and the many obeyed, are merely manifestations of the dangerous, widespread drive to enthrone unreason. We shall advance to the greater good of man only "through reason operating as social and scientific thought."

Two of Cohn's essays deal with the relationship between art and science, a most difficult subject on which I have over the years read a considerable number of articles conveying precisely nothing. Cohn brings to it his powers as a scientist, a clear and sensitive appreciation of the meaning and development of art, and the firm conviction that it lies within the power of reason to exhibit not only the interior relationship among the works of the mind but also the interaction between creative activity and outer circumstance. I am not sure that I fully grasp his conclusions, although he undoubtedly tackles the subject with skill and sincerity and without the handicap of vague esthetic preconceptions.

The essay on "On Retiring" is altogether charming and persuasive. Most of us, I suppose, could be chloroformed at age 60, as suggested by Osler (or for that matter even earlier), without loss to ourselves or our surroundings. But Dr. Cohn's forced retirement, though it affords him the leisure required for retrospect and reflection, is a blow to medical science that cannot be readily repaired. Last year he used as the frontispiece to a pamphlet he had written a quotation from William Kingdon Clifford. It is meet, I think, to repeat it here, because it expresses so accurately Cohn's own philosophy and epitomizes the man's whole working life:

> . . . to do as well as possible what one can do best; to work for the improvement of social organization; to seek earnestly after truth and only to accept provisionally opinions one has not inquired into; to regard men as comrades in work and their freedom as a sacred thing; in fact, to recognize the enormous and fearful difference between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and how truth and right are to be got at by free inquiry, and the love of comrades for their own sake and nobody else's.

JAMES R. NEWMAN

INFORMATION PLEASE

MANAGERIAL ENTERPRISE, by Oswald Knauth (W. W. Norton; $3.75).

WHY MEN WORK, by Alexander R. Heron (Stanford University Press; $2.75).

IN ONE AMERICAN CITY, the three outstanding psychiatrists—all experts on stammering—are all bad stammerers. Which serves to illustrate the point that understanding the nature and origin of a problem does not eliminate it. This is a fault of much of the current writing about business, which does the easy job of asking questions, but leaves to the reader the hard job of answering them.

So, for example, in *Managerial Enterprise,* Oswald Knauth, economist turned successful businessman, spells out the fact that only a third of our economy is now operating under free private enterprise. One-sixth, he estimates, is collective. But more than half is what he calls "managerial enterprise," a system which he describes

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as "controlled by managers whose main idea is to administer the business in the interests of continuity." The managers decide prices and production not in order to get the last cent of profit, but to build up goodwill and repetitive demand. Their policies are not short-run, as in competitive business, but long-range. They want to stimulate demand and keep it steady, says Knauth. And to achieve these goals they drive for power.

There is little in this description of the trend away from competition that has not been said over and over for at least 25 years. The entire literature of monopolistic competition and "managerial revolution" has covered every point that Knauth has to make about the waning role of competitive enterprise in our economy.

What purpose does it serve to rehash the fact—it has been taught for a decade in every college elementary-economics course—that giant managerial enterprise "pursues policies beneficial to itself but harmful to the community"? Or to point out that "the philosophy of free enterprise has little to offer in the way of suggestion for keeping the power of managerial enterprise within bounds"? Or to bemoan the "tendency of legislators and economic analysts to hark back . . . to the familiar promise of free enterprise and monopoly"?

When David Lawrence, writing in his syndicated column the same day the Knauth book appeared, said that the prices of automobiles are determined by supply and demand, it certainly wasn't because Lawrence doesn't know everything Knauth has to say about "torturing the law of supply and demand to pull it into line with the factors determinative of the price of free-enterprise articles." Yet Knauth, like most "enlightened" businessmen, seems to think he has said something important when he reports that business says competition yet does something much nearer monopoly. Can an ex-treasurer of Macy's and the president of the Associated Dry Goods Corporation be that naïve?

As Knauth points out, managerial

"No more important or timely book will be published in 1948."

—Catherine Bauer, *Dept. of Regional Planning, Harvard*

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enterprise seeks power, and has amassed power in immense pyramids with great concentration in a few hands. He is apparently undisturbed by the fact that managerial enterprise "pleads the philosophy of free enterprise," though "the facts are obviously to the contrary." He seems to applaud the fact that their power is great enough to challenge that of the government. "The conflict between business and government is also a sign of health. Managerial enterprise alone has the strength to enter into conflict with government upon an approximately equal footing."

So Knauth wraps himself up in a tight logical knot: to flourish, managerial enterprise needs power over its customers and against the government. Its use of that power is not in the public interest. But without batting an economic eyelash, he pronounces managerial enterprise "the form of economy that holds most promise of serving the manifold needs of our progressive society," which seems somewhat less than a QED.

The kind of impasse Knauth leaves you in is explored, by implication, in a similarly circular treatise, *Why Men Work,* by Alexander R. Heron, another industrialist-turned-thinker. Addressing himself to the "managers" of Knauth's "managerial enterprise," this author also spins a tale that has been discussed in progressive labor-relations circles for three or four decades, and leaves the problem dangling in a dilemma.

Management has failed to find a way to make men work efficiently, Heron points out, because it has failed to offer workers "an enlargement of the opportunity for self-expression, for the growth of the sense of responsibility, the opportunity to be a bigger unit in the organization, to exercise a greater influence." All we have to do, he asserts, is to give workers "the right to think." But as Heron himself points out, everyone from the NAM to the militant CIO unions has been saying just that for years.

This points up the bifurcation in Heron's own thinking. What management means by "thinking" is any exercise of the idea-making mechanism that will keep the worker in a mood to increase production. What the union leader means by "thinking" is the worker's awareness of his relation to his job, his industry and to the whole economy. Such "thinking" might lead to increased production, but it has led also to the argument that greater output per hour per worker—under existing economic conditions and policies—might glut the market with goods and produce unemployment and lower wages. Such thinking might lead to more solid labor organization, to more aggressive unionism, even to political action on the part of labor. Would Heron like that? Like Knauth, he closes his book before the jackpot questions.

One wonders for whom such tracts are written. They are certainly not going to push *Peace of Mind* off the best-seller list. And for the limited public professionally concerned with such problems, they offer little that is new. Perhaps their only purpose is to point up the really terrifying gap between what we know about the workings of our economy and what we are able or willing to do about it. For those who still need to have this chasm between information and action spelled out, these books are heartily recommended. But, oh, for a book or two that will teach businessmen how to stop stammering.

HAROLD WOLFF

CHINA'S STAKE IN CHINA

THE UNITED STATES AND CHINA, by John King Fairbank (Harvard University Press; $3.75).

UNDER THE EDITORSHIP of Sumner Welles, the American Foreign Policy Library is rapidly acquiring a reputation for its cool-headed, scholarly and intelligently liberal studies of the contemporary world and our relationship to it. The latest volume in the series, John King Fairbank's *The United States and China,* is a distinguished addition. It is also one of the most brilliant and informative analyses of Chinese society, culture and politics, and America's concern with them, that has been written anywhere.

The author, who has lived for seven years in China, speaks and reads the language fluently and has long been the confessor and adviser to most of the progressive American contemporary writers on Chinese affairs. He shows almost every quality of mind, knowledge and sympathy important for his work, but he lacks showmanship. As a result, his book has few graces of style and color and is at times hard going for the reader not already versed in Far Eastern matters. It is a pity, because *The United States and China,* if slightly more popular in treatment, could play a great part in liberating prejudiced and uninformed American thinking about the unhappy Chinese republic and about our dogmatic support of the corrupt reactionary forces that are virtually driving its people into the arms of Russia.

Nevertheless, if absence of glamor is likely to limit its audience, there is a corresponding virtue in its calm, dispassionate, erudite objectivity, which never talks down to its reader.

In a time when our makers of foreign policy think of the Far East only in terms of anti-Russian hysteria, the work's first paragraph deserves quotation at length, as an indication of its author's understanding mind:

> China is only superficially a meeting point between the United States and the Soviet Union. Fundamentally it is a society alien to both America and Russia, which is developing according to its own tradition and circumstances. The greatest error that Americans can make is to look at China but think only of Russian expansion. If we let ourselves become obsessed with power politics, in our approach to China, we will be disastrously defeated in our policy there. China has a life of her own. To be sure, both America and Russia have exerted powerful influences on China, and we who are ten thousand miles away have exerted much more influence, on the whole, than Russia which is close at hand. But as Modern China responds to this Western impact we may be sure that she will develop ways of her own, under the influence of long millennia of her own history and cultural tradition.

Fairbank believes that three things are certain about China's future: Chinese nationalism will continue to de-

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velop, democracy in its American form cannot be directly transplanted to China (any more than can orthodox Russian communism), and the spread of technology and industrialism will inevitably bring about a vast change in Chinese political institutions. As has almost every journalistic or scholarly observer, Fairbank notes the current disparity between the backwardness, corruption and lack of any ability to face the vast problems of social and economic change of the ruling Kuomintang clique and the vigor, vitality and creative imagination of the Chinese Communists. He is, however, no wide-eyed apologist for the Communists, crying out that they are merely "agrarian reformers"—although they are unquestionably that also. He objects to their violent and often untruthful propaganda and recognizes the germ of totalitarianism even in their rough-and-ready sort of grass-roots democracy. Indeed, he even criticizes their animosity toward the United States, despite our hostility to them and our open support of their enemies. And, as every liberal American must, he faces the question of whether their relationship with the Kremlin forces us, in self-protection, to support Chiang.

That China in the near future is quite likely to be dominated by the Communists, Fairbank is prepared to believe. In fact, the chief safeguard against it, the organization of a liberal coalition government, in which they would have participated, was wrecked when the efforts of General Marshall as a peacemaker failed. Yet Fairbank thinks that not even the danger of a Red triumph justifies us in attempting to prop up the Kuomintang by force of arms. Such an effort is likely to bring about just the state of affairs that we are most eager to prevent—a Communist China dependent on Russia for support and committed to Kremlin policy and dictatorship. He does not deny that the Chinese Communists are closely allied in sympathy, interest and ideology with the Russian Communists. But there are several other things to be remembered.

In the first place, Kuomintang dictatorship and thought control have driven into the ranks of communism many radicals, liberals and moderates, who are not dogmatically Marxist or Stalinist in ideology and who have had the effect of making the party far from orthodox. Second, out of self-interest, the Kremlin has left the Chinese party strategically and tactically alone. It remembers that in 1927, when the revolutionary movement was run from Moscow it was a failure. Now, when it is national in leadership, it is infinitely more successful.

Third, one of the greatest sources of the party's strength has been, not only its comparative autonomy, but its connections with growing Chinese nationalism and with Chinese revolutionary needs which would have arisen if there had never been a USSR. Thus, being both nationalistic and autonomous, Chinese communism possesses potentialities for moderation and for working with the non-Marxist, non-Stalinist Left.

Our strategy should be, Fairbank says, to support the cause of China's national independence of foreign powers everywhere and to champion liberalism, individual freedom and individual security as opposed to police-state totalitarianism, whether Stalin's or Chiang's. At present many Chinese—unjustly, the author feels—think that our imperialism is more dangerous to their country than Russia's expansion. By supporting liberalism and national independence, we would have our best chance to gain public support and to regain the friendship of the nationalistic Chinese democratic forces. It is at least the best chance for keeping proud modern China from unwil-

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lingly falling into the arms of the Kremlin.

Fairbank's book is by no means devoted entirely to the issue of Washington v. Moscow, and Chinese communism v. the Kuomintang. It is a brilliant survey of the entire field of China, her people, history, culture, economy and social institutions. Valuable, for example, are the author's wry comments on the totalitarian aspects of Confucianism, the days when the Kuomintang was a vital revolutionary power, the historic fate of Chinese regimes when their intellectuals desert them (a fate that both the US and the Chiang government are facing in China today) and the lack of appeal that capitalism and so-called "free enterprise" as a philosophy of life have for the Chinese mind. He makes the vital point that "the one thing not condoned in China's long history has been disunity." Any modern Chinese government must aim at a unified rule of all China. Any regime, "under foreign influence, if it seems to create disunity rather than unity, will range the force of nationalism against itself." China wants to be a nation, not a battleground in power politics.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

SANCTITY AND GENIUS

ART AND FAITH, by Jacques Maritain and Jean Cocteau. Translated by John Coleman (Philosophical Library; $2.75).

THE TWO WORLDS OF MARCEL PROUST, by Harold March (University of Pennsylvania Press; $3.50).

IN OCTOBER, 1925, Jean Cocteau wrote an open letter to Jacques Maritain as an announcement to his friends of his reconversion to the Catholic faith. He reviewed his public life and personal habits and affirmed his beliefs as a Christian-Poet. Maritain's answer treated the relation of Art to Religion which he later expanded in *Art and Scholasticism*. This exchange of letters is now published for the first time in an accurate but sensitive translation.

"Reality and dreams became confused," Cocteau wrote of his former life. "I was seeking suicide." But he found Jacques Maritain. "It was the child in you who saw me," Cocteau claimed. "The child saw the child." With unchildlike discernment, Maritain recognized that his friend was "hesitating on the brink of Heaven," and "pushed me like a man who kills."

As the first statement of his new life, Cocteau calls this letter "the diary of disintoxication." But it is an elated testament, all the same, for if the *enfant terrible* became, in another sense, like a little child, it was still the ingenious artificer who recognized that "goodness, being perfectly new, allows astonishing combinations." He worked out an esthetic and a program. "Art for art's sake, or for the people are equally absurd. I propose art for God." That is to say, not a *religious* art, but a practice of art which would become synonymous with the practice of virtue in the religious life, in which "beauty would gradually become goodness, masterpieces, acts from the heart, genius would become sanctity."

To all this, Maritain was sly but kind. Adapting Cocteau's figure of infancy, he remarks that "however showy it may be, the artist's vanity usually remains childish, and does not reach to that height of sin." Nevertheless, of such is *not* the Kingdom of Heaven, for "Wisdom and Art are two independent absolutes." In a practical sense, "it is not easy to be a poet, it is not easy to be a Christian, it is doubly difficult to be both at once. For poetry excuses nothing." Genius is *not* sanctity: "It is vain to force poetry to ape the Mystic State."

Even more than this, the "tragic condition" of the artist is the divergence in his dedication. "His will and all his strength of desire he must discipline without mercy, but for an end that is not his end." The end of art is not a human end; that is, man's own good, either in a supernatural or even purely natural sense. Art is perfectly self-contained in that it "has for its end only the object it has chosen."

At the same time, although the artist exists and performs in a human order, subject to its exigencies, he may be tempted to make his own the "end that is not his end" and "seek his perfection, like that of a masterpiece, in the sheer flowing of his nature." But such an attempt to escape from the human and moral order is doomed: the esthetic order of art is closed to the person of the artist; "total despair is really the only outlet of the poet who will not flee to God."

The effect of *The Two Worlds of Marcel Proust* is to identify the writer's life with his work, to the elucidation of both. About half the book is devoted to biographical information. We are told that "there was something sticky sweet about his personality" and that because of "his excessive desire to please," Proust was called behind his back "a half-hysterical flatterer." Facts are marshaled to substantiate the charges and to exonerate him from the blame. The history of the writing and publication of Proust's great work is detailed, and the persons and places in it are identified with their originals.

The treatment of the book itself and of Proust's philosophy is expository rather than critical. The effect of this is simply to bring home to any readers of *The Remembrance of Things Past* how little it is in need of this kind of attention. Rarely has any book contained within itself so much explicit and detailed exposition of its themes and structure.

As far as it goes, the book is neatly what it claims to be, "a safe guide to the reader." It may be left to the reader to decide his need of such instruction.

I would take one exception to March's analysis. He tends to claim for Proust's experience of "involuntary memory" (as in the famous incident of the crumb of madeleine) an intrinsic value quite apart from the use Proust made of it in his design, and to corroborate the veracity of the account from the evidence of another writer. This kind of misplaced emphasis leads him to concede too much to the special appeal of Proust's work—even to hazard such nearly meaningless judgments as that "Proust writes for introverts."

JOHN FARRELLY

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THEATRE: Hot Ice

HAVE YOU HEARD the pleasant anecdote they tell about Virgil Thomson? It seems that, for all his knowledge of the musical theatre, Thomson had never seen a performance of Gounod's "Faust" till his professional duties as music critic for the New York *Herald Tribune* made that experience inevitable. Thomson's review was a rave: he had discovered a masterpiece!

I am in somewhat the same position in regard to the ice show. For most of my colleagues it is a routine affair, a banality. Having seen only one such spectacle before—a soggy performance in Los Angeles—the show at the Center Theatre ("Howdy, Mr. Ice") proved an enchantment. I shouted my enthusiasm as if I had come upon an utterly new field of entertainment.

Perhaps it is a good thing that a novice like myself should report in all innocence what thousands upon thousands of spectators have been enjoying for many seasons with no concern for what the sages of the typewriter have had to say about their pastime. It occurs to me that many professional students of the theatre are by this time incapable of appreciating the beauties of the ice show. Their eyes have been dimmed, their senses dulled, by the flatfootedness of the naturalistic drama, the airlessness of musical comedy, the constriction of unending streams of prosy dialogue.

I am reminded in this connection of Clive Bell's suggestion that candidates for art criticism ought to be asked to write pieces on familiar objects, like tables, chairs, lamps, door knobs, before they are permitted to discuss sculpture and painting. How can one judge the performance of a play by Shakespeare if one cannot capture the quality of pleasure in an entertainment on ice?

Many of the ice-show numbers are old vaudeville acts—perennially charming and funny—that acquire a new dimension by virtue of the ice skate. It is a dimension of speed and the special levitation that skates give to the human form. The excellence of the skating itself, however, is not what marks the theatrical fun we feel in seeing the show with the detestable name at the Center Theatre. That is an athletic skill, and as we watch the performance we tend to grow less interested in the technique as such.

For this reason the American Olympic star Eileen Seigh, who is no more than a top-notch skater, entranced me less than the Austrian clown Freddie Trenkler. Through his skates, the clown gives wings to his genial impishness. He is no longer earthbound: he races, he soars, he flies, he makes fantastic appearances and disappearances. The skate at the ice show is the comedians' and dancers' magic carpet.

Skippy Baxter, whose face is as finely edged as his skates, dances in ballets that are hardly more trite than many we see in more sanctified areas. Besides the liberating grace of his velocity and the sudden thrill of his triple turns in the air, there is in his work an additional "musical" satisfaction derived from the alternation of the silken silence of his dreamlike gliding through space with the smart metallic punctuation of the blade as it clicks on the ice to bring us back to the reality of the theatre.

When the choreographer employs imagery that might be likened to a perfume ad with pink-gowned ladies in the lilting ballroom embrace of gentlemen in stylized full dress, the surface of the floor seems to vanish and the dancers to be transported into that realm of black-velvet sheen that makes the wish of all luxury advertisements come true. When a typically old-fashioned number—about the glory of our forty-eight states—is put on skates, the dash and danger involved in the accomplishment of the difficult staging (the element of danger is almost as necessary to the theatre as to sports) justify the number's joyous boast.

Part of the show's splendor is the high, wide and handsome theatre, the skating girls' conspicuously fine legs (they're not as lumpishly muscular as the legs of ballet girls tend to become), the exceedingly good-looking juvenile leads—Harrison Thompson and Rudy Richards—the possibility of an occasional spill, the enormous curved stage, the cool atmosphere and the low prices.

HAROLD CLURMAN

RADIO

Half-Cocked Triggers

BACK IN THE DAYS when this reporter worked on *Variety,* he once saw a copy of that hefty sheet's first issue. Dated some time in 1905, the fledgling "showbiz bible" contained a feature piece titled: "What I Don't Know About Vaudeville." The author proved only that he was modest; he knew plenty. Among other things, he knew enough to stick to his own field. I wish that were half-true of a lot of people in and on the periphery of radio and television today.

There is a good deal of pre-reviewing going on in connection with broadcasting. A columnist in the *Daily Worker* has jumped on one of the networks for scheduling a full-hour documentary on communism. I am not going to name the network, or the show. I won't advertise it, but neither will I condemn it before I have heard it. All I know is that it is being written by a radio scripter whose skill I greatly respect. For the rest—we shall hear.

A number of other people have attacked one of the most attractive women in public life—Freda Hennock. During the hectic closing session, the Senate confirmed President Truman's appointment of Miss Hen-

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nock to the Federal Communications Commission.

Miss Hennock has no radio experience except as an occasional listener. She admits it and I see nothing wrong in it. Clifford J. Durr, whom she succeeds on the Commission (he refused to accept reappointment), probably knew no more when he came to the FCC in 1941. She practised law with one of the fattest corporation outfits in Wall Street. But, privately, she was an active New Dealer in the days of FDR, working quietly but effectively for the old Democratic Party. She is foreign-born (Jewish) and her closest personal friends are well-known New York liberals, many of whom were among Durr's staunchest supporters. There is no justification for hopping on Miss Hennock until she has had the opportunity to show what kind of a job she will make for herself as an FCC member.

We are being asked simultaneously to weep and cheer about two new congressional broadcasting investigations. The House has named a Select Committee, the other inquiry is to be conducted by a Senate Interstate Commerce subcommittee. It's quite probable that the House group may do some sharpshooting at the FCC. It is also possible that the Senate unit, led by Wallace H. White Jr., of Maine, may displease organized broadcasters by leaning toward the theory that the FCC should have more, instead of less, control over programming. What is important is that the two groups be watched; that the public insist on open and fair hearings; that you, the listener, be represented at those hearings.

If there were a national organization of listeners in this country, it would snap up the services of Clifford Durr. A public advocate for radio listeners has long been needed—someone who knows the field, understands the intricacies of practice before the FCC, and has both tact and courage. Durr has these qualifications. After seven years of carrying the ball for the public inside the FCC, he is at liberty. Do we know enough to make use of him?

Durr, incidentally, was given two fairly formal fare-thee-well's when he stepped out of the FCC. In Washington, the National Lawyers' Guild threw a luncheon for him, and several members of the Commission—including Chairman Wayne Coy—turned out to make it official. In New York, he was toasted by "representatives of the industry." At least, that's the way the invitation was worded. Actually, the affair was sparked by the American Civil Liberties Union radio committee. To the credit of broadcasters, however, is the fact that industry brass did show up, plus radio critics, who have always been among Durr's enthusiastic backers.

There was another event in New York to which the "industry" was not even invited. This one was a testimonial to ABC's commentator, Arthur Gaeth, conducted by the Voice of Freedom Committee. The VOF, of which Dorothy Parker is chairman, is a group of organized listeners who monitor broadcasting and react, rapidly and sometimes effectively, particularly when radio men show bias in newscasting.

Gaeth's sponsor is the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers' Union (CIO). The UE switched his Monday-night broadcasting to the ABC network recently when Mutual, which had been airing this program, could not get its New York outlet, WOR, to "find time" for Gaeth.

Gaeth, a prominent member of the Mormon Church, had trouble several times when he broadcast out of Salt Lake City, first over the church's own station, KSL, later over the Intermountain Network. Among his offenses was friendliness to Russia. His present sponsor does not expect him to fight Russia, but neither does it dictate his position. The VOF showed excellent sense in applauding a fine, keen radio commentator while he is still on the air. Most listeners hold back their protests until such a man has been booted and complaints are futile.

SAUL CARSON

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MOVIES: Laugh, Damn You!

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To begin with, though, there is the dubious case of "A Foreign Affair." It sets out, sure enough, to be a lark, but it chooses a curious subject for its merriment. At the risk of being reminded once more that liberals have no sense of humor, I must gag at the notion of conquered Berlin as a subject for frivolity.

It may be funny (and as a matter of fact the audience laughed) that a birthday cake from Iowa, inscribed "I love you, I love you, I love you," can cause a near riot when bartered on the Unter den Linden black market. You may collapse at the spectacle of a pair of low-comedy GI's on a tandem bicycle luring frauleins with candy bars. But if so you must also have been quite a wag at your grandmother's funeral. I know that the answer to this viewpoint is that "A Foreign Affair" is not supposed to be taken seriously, a line of reasoning that could encourage you to produce a slapstick farce on the eccentricities of cerebral palsy. Military government in Germany is one of the unfunniest things in the world today and not even the sprightly dialogue of Charles Brackett nor the deft directing of Billy Wilder can muffle the hollow reverberations of the laughter.

The plot of "A Foreign Affair" is as follows: Jean Arthur, a visiting congresswoman on a mission assigned to investigate morale in Berlin, uncovers an affair between the ex-mistress of a Nazi leader (Marlene Dietrich) and a black-marketing American captain (John Lund). To save himself from exposure, the captain makes blitz love to the Representative from Iowa, who puts away her spectacles and her scruples and trades her PX rations for a low-cut dress.

The all-wise and tolerantly amused AMG braintrust has known of the captain's off-limits romance from the start and is really using the captain as bait to lure the war-criminal boy friend out of hiding. In the end, the Nazi (I guess the producers have Martin Bormann in mind) is ambushed, the mistress is shipped off to a labor camp and the congresslady gets her captain. You get the impression, especially in Millard Mitchell's ironic overtones as the Army's spokesman, that playing around with Hitlerian sirens is to be expected of manly young fellows and that the consequences are not serious as long as the home folks are spared the details.

The film is well-timed, well-cast, except for Miss Arthur, who can do little with that aged platitude about the strait-laced female executive who bursts like a ripe melon at the first touch. Marlene Dietrich still knows more about men than any woman alive and she still sings through cigarette smoke with the voice of Lilith. But if breezy laughter in the sickroom makes you queasy, you had better avoid "A Foreign Affair."

Without going into the value of the accomplishment, it is certainly true that the movies used to do the Custer's Last Stand sort of thing remarkably well. On the evidence of "Fort Apache" they've lost the knack.

What we have here is Henry Fonda, miserable in a role of intense stuffiness, who insists, as a West Point colonel, on fighting Indians according to the precepts of Hannibal. He and his men are properly exterminated, but it's as dull a massacre as ever you've seen. Along with this is served a romance between the colonel's daughter (Shirley Temple) and Sergeant O'Rourke's son (John Agar). Hitherto known exclusively as the real-life husband of

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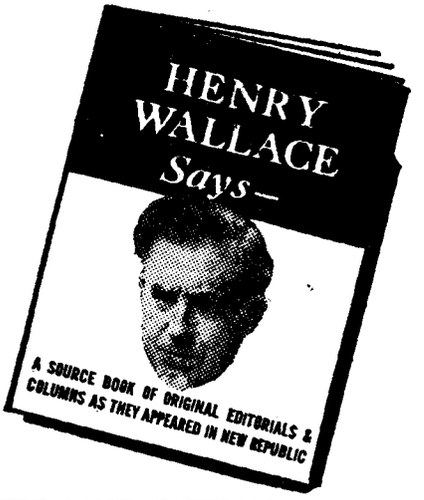

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Miss Temple, Agar acts as though the whole idea of acting was never his in the first place. Victor McLaglen is present to remind us of the days when melodrama was uninhibited and unashamed. The Indians are presented not as heathen devils but as a minority group with a grievance. That at least is a point worth noting.

Since the film is directed by John Ford, it contains a lot of upper-case photography. There is nothing wrong with pretty pictures except too many of them. Postcards are supposed to be sent through the mail; flashed self-consciously on the screen, they look like Oscar bait.

The theme of "Give My Regards to Broadway" is that vaudeville is dead. Since I think we're all agreed that this is so, we can pass on quickly, only observing that "Regards" is as damp a piece of sentiment as you're likely to meet these humid days, and that Dan Dailey, a pleasant character with perhaps some talent as a song-and-dance man, is hopelessly embarrassed by the infuriatingly pathetic antics of Charles Winninger.

Astaire is back—dancing, singing, charming the feathers off a wooden Indian. He's heady drink for the men in the audience: makes them feel like graceful, witty, heart-robbing facsimiles of Jimmy Walker.

With him in "Easter Parade" are Judy Garland, Peter Lawford, Ann Miller, and a bewildering succession of vintage Irving Berlin songs. Astaire and Garland dance superbly (the story of the film says that Astaire can make any girl dance, which is rough on his partner but just about true), and they dance a lot. I hope the irresponsible talk about Astaire retiring will be dropped now for a while; he's never been better. Nor has Miss Garland ever been so attractive.

"Easter Parade," set in 1912, comes under the popular Hollywood classification of "Nostalgia for Ziegfeld." Except for Astaire's feet, which seem never to repeat themselves, it is completely unoriginal. And completely delightful.

ROBERT HATCH

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Raising the Money

SIR: Mr. Lader's article ["Money Extracted Painlessly"] on fund-raising techniques, in the June 14 issue of the *New Republic*, contains various references to the American Heart Association which require clarification. . . .

The American Heart Association did not employ a commercial fund-raising agency during its 1948 campaign. A few of the Association's affiliates did engage professional fund-raisers to conduct their local campaigns. As the article indicates, this was done most successfully in New York City.

We are advised that the selection of the American Heart Association as the beneficiary of "The Walking Man" contest on the "Truth or Consequences" radio program was the result of an objective survey to find the national voluntary health agency most eligible for such support. Entrants in "The Walking Man" contest were not required to contribute to the American Heart Association. Contributions were purely voluntary.

The American Heart Association's campaign was national in scope and represented the efforts of affiliated heart associations and coöperating groups in many cities throughout the nation. The plastic-heart collection banks referred to in the article were among the various aids provided by the national Association for the use of its affiliates during the recent drive.

M. FREDERICK ARKUS
Win Nathanson & Associates, Inc.
New York City

SIR: Your article states that the fund-raising firm's "smartest stunt" was a radio tie-in with "Truth or Consequences." This is not true. . . . Procter and Gamble, sponsor of program, and Ralph Edwards, on the basis of a survey of disinterested experts in the field of public health, decided on their own initiative and chose the American Heart Association as the beneficiary of the program without ever . . . knowing of the existence of the fund-raising firm or that fund-raising efforts were being conducted. Procter and Gamble uses the utmost care to insure that beneficiaries of any contest are chosen without regard to any factors but the public interest.

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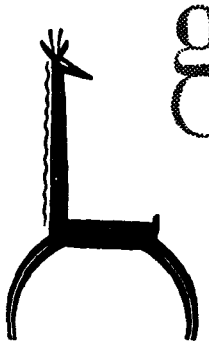

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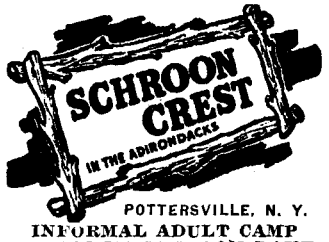

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